GATEWAY SEMINARY-BAY AREA
3 0008 00011 0798

THE GENESIS OF AMERICAN ANTI-MISSIONISM

Class 266.6 Book C23
WITHDRAWN
Baptist Historical Collection
AT
Colgate University, N. Y.

Beside the main topic, this book also treats of

Subject No.	*On page*	*Subject No.*	*On page*

PRESENTED BY
SAMUEL COLGATE.

The books in this department are not to be taken from the building.

Morgan Patterson
10-30-56

DATE DUE

			PRINTED IN U.S.A.

THE GENESIS OF

American Anti-Missionism

BY

B. H. CARROLL, Jr., B. A., LL. B., Th. D.

PUBLISHED FOR
THE BAPTIST BOOK CONCERN
LOUISVILLE, KY.
1902.

Gateway Seminary Library

520
C37
902

INTRODUCTION.

A connected and somewhat exhaustive account of the anti-missionary movement that resulted from the pressing of foreign mission, home mission, Sunday school, educational, and other forms of organized denominational work under the auspices of the Triennial Convention, with Luther Rice as its chief agent, and Judson's work in Burma as its chief inspiration, has long been a desideratum. The strength of the opposition throughout the South and the Southwest to the work of the Triennial Convention during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century may be illustrated by the following facts: During the first four or five years after the organization of the Triennial Convention (1814), the Baptist churches of Tennessee were nearly all friendly to the foreign mission cause and contributed toward its funds. Within a few years all the missionary societies that had been formed for co-operation with the Triennial Convention were dissolved and the association rescinded the resolutions that had been passed in favor of missions and related departments of denominational work. In Georgia and Alabama a life-and-death struggle between the friends of missions and co-operative work and the malignant enemies of missions raged for years, and the issue, apart from firm faith in the God of missions, might well have seemed doubtful. As late as 1845

twelve of the thirty-four Virginia associations, including the old Ketokton, were aggressively anti-missionary. Equally successful was the anti-missionary propaganda in Kentucky. Ohio, where Alexander Campbell's influence was great, and the writings of Daniel Parker and John Taylor were circulated, was an equally fruitful field for the anti-missionary propaganda. In 1820 the Ohio Baptist churches had contributed $547.09 for foreign missions. From 1821 to 1828 contributions ceased entirely, while the contributions in 1829 and 1830 were $10 and $5 respectively. The wonderful success of the opponents of missions from 1820 to 1840 needs to be explained, and Dr. Carroll has performed a service of great value in bringing together from rare sources a large amount of material illustrative of the spirit and the methods of the opposition to organized missionary work. He has made effective use of the scarce writings of Daniel Parker and John Taylor, and has demonstrated more fully than any earlier writer the contribution of Alexander Campbell to the anti-missionary movement.

It is a source of satisfaction to me that this fine piece of research work on a topic that is still of vital interest to the denomination is to be published in book form, and I trust that it will be widely circulated throughout the denomination, and especially in those parts of the South where war is still being waged against the organized work of the denomination.

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

Baylor University, Waco, Texas.

Lovingly Dedicated

to

B. H. CARROLL III.

With the eternal prayer that by the Grace of God
and the calling of the Holy Spirit,
he may some day be, either
at home or abroad, a
Consecrated Missionary
of the Gospel of our
Lord, JESUS CHRIST.

[This work was originally done as a Thesis, and presented to the Faculty of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in applying for the Degree of Doctor of Theology, with the following.]

PREFACE.

Worcester gives as the primary definition of a Thesis, that it is "a position or proposition affirmative or negative, advanced or laid down, to be supported by argument." The proposition, then, which I lay down as a thesis, and which I will endeavor to prove in the following pages, is that under God the Foreign Mission movement among American Baptists has been the greatest factor in our denominational development. My purpose is to show how great a work *foreign* missions has done at *home*. There is no book covering just this ground, nor do I think our people realize how great is our debt to foreign missions. We look upon our contributions to that cause as bread cast upon the waters, never to return to our own shores. Many regard a gift to foreign missions as a dead loss. Many more have regard only to the results abroad. Many books have been written to show its successes abroad. May there not be a place for *one* to show what have been its trials and what are its trophies in our own land? I believe the foreign mission movement has furnished the centripetal force which holds our denomination together and which counteracts the centrifugal force of church sovereignty and independence; which if it operated without the check of fraternal sympathy, comity and co-operation, would cause us to fly off at a tan-

gent into chaos. I believe its results to be so great that they would cause us to support it from considerations of self interest, if there were no higher motive. Not that I want such a consideration to become paramount, for as in prayer, although the reflex benefit is great, every one ceases to pray as soon as he believes in only a reflex effect; so I believe the same results would follow in the case of foreign missions. One reason it has so greatly blessed us is that we did not expect the blessing. As Eben Holden says, "Folks that takes care of other folks will get taken care of, unless they do it on purpose." But it is only fair that we should know the benefits we have derived in order that we may answer the doubter and the gainsaying.

In addition to the main thesis of the book, other theses which I regard as of importance will be defended. The most prominent of these are: First, that American Baptist missionary activity is not due, save indirectly or in a very minor degree, to Carey or to the development of missions in district associations, but is directly traceable to Judson and Rice. Second, that Alexander Campbell was the greatest and most influential of the anti-missionaries. To many this will be exhibiting Mr. Campbell in a new role. Third, that foreign missions is the mother of education, organization, home missions and other denominational activities. There is necessarily much of history given, although the aim has not been to give an exhaustive history of this period, but to give enough to *prove my positions*. These positions were taken

from a study of that history and enough of the evidence is cited to show that they are neither fanciful, forced nor arbitrary. The facts presented have all been obtained from reliable sources; I have neither invented nor deduced them. The merit of this thesis is in showing what these facts *prove*. Wherever I have been able to carry on the argument directly by means of quotations, I have done so, even at the cost of introducing some irrelevant matter and of making the style a trifle jerky. I have tried to cite my authorites fully, but lest I should fail to do them justice, I hereby make a general and grateful acknowledgment to the many authors from whose works I have drawn. I desire to extend special thanks to Mrs. B. D. Spencer for her great kindness in putting at my disposal certain rare pamphlets. So far as I know, she has the only copies of the Taylor and Parker pamphlets procurable in the South. The first chapter of this work is condensed as much as possible, and is chiefly intended as a background to what follows. A recent book on missions, issued by the American Baptist Publication Society, since this chapter was typewritten, has the same chapter heading to its second chapter. My highest hope for this effort is that it may prove of some value to the man who shall some day write the glorious history of the Baptist denomination in the United States of America.

Respectfully submitted,

B. H. CARROLL, JR.

Done at the Library of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary this 14th day of February, A. D., 1901.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE.
CHAPTER I.	THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS IN 1812.....	13
II.	CONNECTION OF JUDSON AND RICE WITH THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY MOVEMENT.....	37
III.	THE RISE OF THE "HARDSHELLS".....	85
IV.	OUTLINE OF JOHN TAYLOR'S ARGUMENT.	97
V.	OUTLINE OF DANIEL PARKER'S ATTACK ON THE MISSIONARY SYSTEM.....	108
VI.	ALEXANDER CAMPBELL'S ATTACK ON MISSIONS.....	124
VII.	PROGRESS AND SPIRIT OF OPPOSITION TO MISSIONS.....	156
VIII.	RELATION OF THE FOREIGN MISSION MOVEMENT TO EDUCATION.....	191
IX.	RELATION OF THE FOREIGN MISSION MOVEMENT TO ORGANIZATION.....	201
X.	RELATION OF FOREIGN MISSIONS TO HOME MISSIONS, BIBLE AND OTHER SOCIETIES AND THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION	212
XI.	THE LIGHT SHED BY THE LESSONS OF THE PAST ON THE DUTIES OF THE PRESENT.....	220

THE GENESIS OF

AMERICAN ANTI-MISSIONISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE AMERICAN BAPTISTS IN 1812.

1. THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The year 1812 is a pivotal one in American history. Great men were guiding the ship of state. Madison, who had been Secretary of State under Jefferson, was President; Henry Clay of Kentucky was Speaker of the House; John C. Calhoun of South Carolina had made his first appearance in the House of Representatives the preceding year. The laurels of Tippecanoe were yet fresh on General Harrison's brow. The trial of Aaron Burr, the Lewis and Clark exploration, and the defeat of the British Sloop of war, "Little Belt," by the American vessel, "President," were recent and vivid memories. But a few years since and the United States had expanded to take in the vast Louisiana territory ceded by Napoleon the Great of France. The charter of the Bank of the United States had just expired. The only steamboat

in the world, Fulton's "Clermont," had been plying the waters of the Hudson since 1807. The American Ambassador had been recalled from the Court of St. James and Mr. Madison had given the British Minister his passports. The popular slogan of free trade and sailors' rights was sweeping like wildfire through the land.

So dawned the year 1812. Early in the year Louisiana was admitted as the seventeenth State of the Union and the Territory of Missouri was organized with St. Louis as its capital. On the eighteenth of June, after receiving the arrogant answer of the British Minister that they would abandon no measures however injurious or offensive to the United States, which the war with France made it to their interest to employ, President Madison signed the bill that declared this country to be for the second time at war with Great Britain. Thus was the young Republic with its attempt at self-government still a problem, with depleted exchequer and steeped in debt, put where, with its miniature navy, it had to oppose the "Mistress of the Seas," and with its unpaid army, to defend the long line of its frontier against the British and their thoroughly organized allies, the Indians, led by the greatest of chiefs, Tecumseh. Tecumseh's followers, it is true, had been defeated by General Harrison, but when Tecumseh himself was absent, and then only after having inflicted a loss on the whites of nearly two to one. The story of that war is not to be retold here. Its story is one of disaster after disaster on land,

and victory after victory on sea. The Fort Dearborn massacre, the loss of Macenac, and the disgraceful surrender of Detroit by General Bull followed in swift succession. Tecumseh, for tactical skill and personal bravery, was girded by the British commander's own sash and made a General in the British army. Soon after Captain Isaac Hull washed away the stain from that name, (put there by the General's cowardice) when he evaded the entire British squadron by superior seamanship and blew the frigate "Guerriere" out of the water. But time would fail to tell of Porter and Jones and Bainbridge and our other naval heroes in that war, or of the bravery displayed by the Americans in the attack on Queenstown, in which attack Scott, then a Lieutenant-colonel of volunteers, figured heroically. The year closed with the war party still in the ascendant and with the doctrine of sailor's rights being gloriously maintained by the sailors themselves.

In Europe, the heroic figure of Napoleon Bonaparte loomed like a Titan against the horizon, but the early winter of 1812 and the burning of Moscow marked the beginning of his end. His offenses against American ships and commerce had really been greater than those of England, and more real cause existed for war with France than with the mother country, but the sentiment engendered by the aid of Lafayette and other French officers in the war of 1776 was too great in America to permit her to side against a country which, inspired by the

American example and success, had so recently gone through the throes of the French Revolution.

2. RELIGIOUS STATUS OF THE BAPTISTS IN 1812.

(1) *As to Number and Characteristics.*

The year 1800 found the Baptists with about 180,000 members, divided among forty-eight associations. Under the influence, largely, of Welsh Baptists, the Arminian Baptists, who up to 1742 had decided advantages in members and enterprise, were routed, and by 1800 Calvinistic Baptists had everywhere ascendency. * This turn to Calvinism was largely accentuated by the Whitfield revival and by the growing opposition between the Baptists and the Arminian followers of John Wesley. The close of the Revolutionary War left the country flooded with all the attendant evils that war brings in its train. French infidelity, made popular by the French officers who assisted the patriot cause, the infidelity of Voltaire, Rousseau, and D'Alembert—brilliant, shallow, witty, caustic, sneering—had been sowed wide cast in this country. Thomas Payne used the popularity of his patriotism to spread his "Age of Reason" and other attacks on the Bible. Thomas Jefferson was thought by some to be a free-thinker. This infidelity shaded off into Socinianism, Universalism and a state of gen-

* Vedder: "History of the Baptists of the Middle States," pp. 92, 93.

eral religious apathy. It reached even into the churches and pulpits. A theory of restorationism, called by its opposers, "Hell-Redemptionism," became quite popular, especially in the Middle States. Among the unconverted, particularly on the frontier, the grossest ribaldry and blasphemy were quite common. A reaction set in and a great religious awakening swept the country like a tidal wave. Where sin was so gross, conviction of sin became very deep; sometimes men labored for months under a load of sin without getting relief. John Taylor, in his "History of Ten Churches," describes himself as being accustomed to kneel and pray every day for days while under such a conviction, acknowledging God's justice in damning him and sending his soul to hell. He also tells of having seen the floor wet with the tears of the penitents.* In the great revivals between 1800 and 1812, especially in Kentucky, most marked mental and spiritual phenomena appeared, such as "the falling exercise." The first instance noted occurred under the ministry of McGready and McGee in 1779. From thence it spread rapidly all over Kentucky and Middle Tennessee and soon became inseparable from the religious camp meetings.

Some fell suddenly as if struck by lightning, while others were seized with a universal tremor the moment before, and fell shrieking. Piercing shrieks were uttered by many during the whole period of prostration, intermingled with groans, cries for mercy, and exclamations of "Glory to God!" In general there was no complaint of pain, but

*History of Ten Churches, by John Taylor, p. 23.

of great weakness during and after the paroxysms. Women would fall while walking to and from the meeting-house, engaged in narrating past exercises, or drop from their horses on the road. In this condition the subject would lie fifteen minutes or two or three hours; and we are even told of a woman's lying, without eating or speaking, for nine days and nights. Some were more or less convulsed, and wrought hard in frightful nervous agonies, the eyes rolling widely. But the greater number were quite motionless, as if dead or about to expire in a few moments. Some were capable of conversing, others were not. During the syncope, and even when conscious, and talking on religious topics, the subject was insensible of pain. Vinegar and hartshorn were applied with no perceptible effects. . . . During the great camp meeting at Cane Ridge, August 6th, 1801, three thousand were computed to have fallen. *

A similar affection to this was "the jerking exercise," or, as it was commonly called, "the jerks." In this exercise,

The subject was instantaneously seized with spasms or convulsions in every muscle, nerve and tendon. His head was jerked from side to side with such rapidity that it was impossible to distinguish his visage, and the most lively fears were entertained lest he should dislocate his neck, or dash out his brains. His body partook of the same impulse, and was hurried on by jerks over every obstacle, fallen trunks of trees, or, in a church, over pews and benches, apparently to the most imminent danger of being bruised and mangled. It was useless to attempt to restrain or hold him, and the paroxysm was permitted gradually to exhaust itself. †

---

* History of the Presbyterian Church, p. 143 et seq., as quoted in Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 515.

† History of the Presbyterian Church, pp. 145, 146, as quoted in Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 516

Wicked men were often taken with these strange exercises, and many would curse the jerks while they were under their singular operation. Some were taken at the tavern with a glass of liquor in their hands, which they would suddenly toss over their heads or to a distant part of the room. Others were taken with them at the card table, and at other place of dissipation, and would by a violent and unaffected jerk, throw a hand full of cards all over the room. *

The rolling exercise, the running exercise, the dancing exercise, the barking exercise, the laughing exercise and visions and trances were frequent concomitants of camp meetings in Kentucky and Tennessee during the great revival.† These exercises were simply such variations of the foregoing as their names would naturally suggest. Frequent earthquakes occurred during the year 1811 which, taken in conjunction with the "shakes" and the fact that the next year Congress declared war with Great Britain, confirmed the superstitious in their belief that the "shakes" betokened some great calamity.‡ The Baptists declined to join in general camp meetings, and were but little affected by these strange phenomena. In 1800, in Kentucky, the statistics compared with those of 1790 show a falling off of one hundred per cent in Baptist membership in proportion to increase in population. Their revival in

A more extended description is given by McNemar, pp. 51, 52, and is quoted by many authors.

* History of Baptists. Vol. 11, p. 255, as quoted by Spencer, p. 517.

† Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, pp. 517-520.

‡ " " " " p. 667.

Kentucky was more gradual and moderate. They joined in only one union meeting. Protracted meetings were as yet unknown. In 1803 there were in Kentucky ten associations, 219 churches and 15,295 members.* In 1810-12 there were in Kentucky 15 associations, 286 churches and 16,250 members,† showing that the increase in Kentucky had been but slight and gradual. In Kentucky in 1812 the first number of the "Kentucky Missionary and Theological Magazine" was published at Frankfort, with Stark Dupuy as editor.‡ About the same time the Boston Association was formed from the old Warren Association.§

(2) *As to Doctrine and Customs.*

By 1812 the Baptists nearly everywhere were strongly Calvinistic. The Philadelphia, Charleston and Warren Associations were the three most influential. Great care was taken in ordaining ministers. Ministers asked no pay for their services, but the Church felt obligation to support.‖ Baptist ministers in preaching discarded all written preparations, but all of them were by no means ignorant. A strict church discipline was maintained. Dr. Spencer says that one of the best Churches in Kentucky received only one person by baptism

---

* Spencer: History Kentucky Baptists, p. 541.

† " " " " p. 565.

‡ " " " " pp. 567-8.

§ Vedder: History of the Baptist in New England, p. 97.

‖ Taylor: History of Ten Churches, p. 34.

during five long years and he was excluded two months after baptism. Prayer for new converts sometimes continued for an hour. The practice of the laying on of hands after baptism was common.*

The rite of the laying on of hands on the newly baptized was practiced by the Baptists of those days; this practice was performed as follows: those upwards of fifty stood up in one solemn line on the bank of the river, taking up about as many yards as there were individuals—the males first in the line; about four ministers went together, each one laid his hand on the head of the dedicated person, and one prayed for him, and after praying for three or four of them another proceeded until they went through. It would appear as if that solemn dedication might be some barrier to future apostasy; for the prayers were of great solemnity and fervor, and for that particular person according to their age and circumstances.†

The churches were almost to a unit indifferent to missions. The frontier churches had only monthly meetings, but there as elsewhere the preaching was noted for its scripturalness, fervor and deep feeling. Ruling elders were nominal officers in many churches. They were introduced into Kentucky by zealous Separate Baptists from Virginia, who obtained the usage from the Puritans. It was a practice that ceased soon after this time.‡ Foot-washing as an ordinance was somewhat in vogue, but mainly among Separates. It has survived only among them and some of the anti-mission-

* Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 486.
† Taylor: History of Ten Churches, p. 10.
‡ Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 486.

ary Baptists.* Quarterly or union meetings were customary. These two terms describe the same meeting, which was not a business meeting, but one for worship. A great deal of significance was attached to dreams and visions † and some remarkable and well-authenticated stories are told concerning them. ‡ There are instances where men traveled two hundred miles to be baptized, thus emulating the example of the Saviour, who walked sixty miles from Galilee to where John was baptizing on the Judean border in Jordan.

(*3*) *Religious Liberty.*

By 1812 the struggle for religious liberty was practically won, although persecution still continued in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, and possibly some other States, in the form of unjust taxation and sometimes restrictions as to worship and personal penalties inflicted on the preacher, with the connivance, at least, of the law. Opposition to negro slavery was felt even at this early day, and was more outspoken at the South than in the North.

(*4*) *Education.*

In educational work the only Baptist institution was Brown University, whose story will be told in a subsequent chapter, and even this did not offer ministerial education. But the

* Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 486.
† " " " " 512.
‡ Taylor: History of Ten Churches, p. 35, 36.

Baptists were far from being an ignorant and unlettered folk. Their young ministers sat at the feet of older and wiser brethren, and received with apostolic simplicity the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

* At this time also there are not a few among us in the sacred office of distinguished worth, not so much for their literary acquirements as for what is infinitely of more value in promoting pure undefiled religion before God, namely: true piety, ardent zeal, ministerial gifts and indefatigable diligence, and faithfulness in saving the souls of men and promoting the kingdom of our Redeemer. Some are Boanerges, sons of thunder, qualified to lay the axe at the root of the trees; to awaken alarm, and strip sinners of their carnal hopes and self-dependence; while others are sons of consolation, fitted to apply the healing balm of gospel grace and mercy, to excite faith in the merits and meditation of Christ, and lead the subject of grace to rejoice in hope; fitted to build up, comfort, establish and edify the faithful, leading them on as a peculiar people, zealous of good works; while all have a measure of all gifts, as God has distributed to all by the same Spirit. Of these there are not a few, especially Southward and Eastward of us, the force of whose natural genius has raised them far above the common level, whose names, for obvious reasons, we for the present suppress, and

"Hail the suns of glory when they set."

A footnote to the above states the following facts:

The Baptists, as a society, have never considered the higher branches of learning as essential to the gospel ministry, and there is no doubt but that the sentiment is per-

* Quoted from Centennial sermon of Philadelphia Baptist, Association, preached in 1807. Minutes of Philadelphia Association, pp. 464-5.

fectly correct. They have, nevertheless, held education in high esteem, as a handmaid to grace, and have always had not a few among them that ranked pretty high for literary improvement and extensive reading. (Here follows an account of the founding of Brown University.) The writer kept a boarding school between twenty-nine and thirty years at Lower Dublin, in which many were educated that are now useful to the different learned professions. One of them, the Rev. Dr. Allison, kept a large academy under his sole direction, at Bordentown in New Jersey, from whence issued many useful characters.

The Philadelphia Baptist Association have a fu nd for the education of young men promising for the gospel ministry, as have also the Charleston Association. The Baptists in Georgia have in contemplation to erect a college in that State on Mount Enon, at the distance of one hundred and forty miles from the Atlantic, in latitude 33 north, on an elevation of 200 feet perpendicular, accommodated with salubrious air, and two fine springs that issue out of rocks on the west and north sides. The business is in some forwardness, as unsolicited donations already amount to about five thousand dollars. This account of Enon College bears date of December, 1806.*

The arrogance and godlessness of the Episcopalians, the persecution by the Congregationalists and the small success of the Presbyterian ministers led some of the stalwart and rugged brethren on the borders to despise an education whose chief exponents belonged to these three classes; especially, when they contrasted it with the self-sacrificing, earnest, hardship-enduring and patient efforts of the pioneer Baptist and Methodist ministers. The Episcopalians and

* The footnote to the quotation, is presumably, by the editor, A. D. Gillette, A. M. pp. 464-5.

Methodists had lost much by their Tory sympathies during the Revolution, which they were wisely regaining by warmly espousing the cause of the States in the War of 1812. The feeling against the Episcopalians was so strong as to cause the Baptist churches to neglect the New Testament title for ministers having congregations in charge, namely, "bishop." It was thus neglected on account of its prelatical associations. All the causes set forth above combined to create the prejudices against paying stated salaries to ministers and reading of sermons. It was the inevitable reaction of the pendulum to the furthest extreme from the abuses of the politico-religious bodies with whom they had come in contact.

(5) *Missionary Activity among Baptists Prior to the Conversion of Judson and Rice.*

It is unquestionable that missionary activity in the United States, among all denominations, was, in a sense, a direct growth of William Carey's work. This great Baptist was the founder of missionary activity in two continents and was the father of American, as well as English missions.

In particular, the Baptists of this country were eager watchers. Dr. Staughton, later a pastor in Philadelphia, had heard Carey's famous sermon, and like all the auditors was stirred to the depths; he was present, too, at the organization in Kettering and into the collection cast a half guinea *borrowed* for the purpose, ever after declaring that he "rejoiced more over it than any other sum he ever gave in his life." Letters and missionary reports sent by English Baptists were quite extensively circulated.

And since Carey, with all his stalwart faith in God, was also a stanch believer in the efficacy of vigorous and uninterrupted good works, and hence among the rest was a most indefatigable letter writer, information and exhortation were poured forth in all directions from his prolific pen. Thus communications not a few reached New England and the Middle States, were read with interest and as a result, considerable sums of money were forwarded to Serampore. In 1806-7 he acknowledged receipt of $6,000 and says: "The Lord has wonderfully stirred the whole religious world of every denomination to favor our work and contribute to a large amount; and our American friends have special claims on our gratitude in this respect." And further, in 1811, through the action of the Boston Baptist Association, $4,650 were contributed by persons of different denominations in eastern Massachusetts, to aid in carrying forward his numerous translations of the Scriptures into Asiatic languages. Hence the assertion is abundantly justified that "we are indebted to those pioneers for the example which gave a powerful impulse to missions by arousing the interest and embodying the efforts of all denominations."*

In 1796 a society had been organized in New York in which Presbyterians, Baptists, and Reformed (Dutch) were united, and monthly meetings were held to pray that the "God of grace would pour out his spirit on his church and send the gospel to all nations." During the first five years of the nineteenth century the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine was started, along with four other missionary periodicals of various denominations.†

During this early period it is impossible always to discriminate and distinguish closely

* Leonard: "A hundred Years of Missions, p. 102.
† " " " " " " p. 102.

between the various kinds of missions, especially in view of the difficulty of classifying the work done among the American Indians, and the fact that, part at least of the nomenclature specifying the various divisions of missionary activity came into existence at a later date. In 1807 Rev. S. Jones, D. D., preached the Century Anniversary sermon of the Philadelphia Association from Isaiah 54: 2-3 "*Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes; for thou shalt break forth on the right hand and on the left; and thy seed shall inherit the Gentiles, and make the desolate cities to be inhabited.*" In that sermon he pays this tribute to the missionary spirit:

> What shall we say of the missionary spirit that has for some years and especially of late prevailed in many places, and among many different societies, with a view to spread the knowledge of the gospel and the way of salvation among the heathen in various parts, as well as among Christians in places destitute of the means. It would seem that knowledge, civil and religious liberty and with them Religion itself are tending westward. With the sun they rose in the East, after a course of ages, crossed the Atlantic, and it is likely will progress westward uutil they reach the Pacific Ocean, civilizing and making happy this Western Hemisphere in their course.*

The missionary work done by the Philadelphia Association, especially in the South, has been great.

---

*Minutes of Philadelphia Association, p. 464.

The Philadelphia Association, from the first, has engaged earnestly in efforts for the proper education of its ministers and the spread of the gospel in the world. Rhode Island College, now Brown University, received its patronage and contributions from its origin, as the subsequent minutes show. It will be seen also that, from the first, it has been an effective missionary body. Hundreds of churches have been gathered by the able and self-denying men, sent out at its expense to regions where no religious privileges had before been enjoyed. The aborigines were not overlooked in this labor of love. Among other efforts, the Rev. David Jones, before the American Revolution, made a missionary excursion, at his own expense, to the Indians of what was then "the Far West."*

This was the first Baptist Association formed in the United States. From its earliest history it has been forward in the work of Domestic Missions. The pastors were requested, and the churches urged, to be liberal in aiding them to visit destitute churches and settlements. Morgan Edwards, in 1771, and John Gano, afterwards, were appointed "Evangelists," and sent into remote regions, especially South, to preach the gospel and counsel the feeble churches, and instruct the scattered disciples of Christ. The design of founding Rhode Island College originated in this body.†

This Association was the mightiest power for missionary activity up to the formation of what was afterwards called the Triennial Convention. Its confession of faith was printed for the Association by Benjamin Franklin,‡ and has left its stamp ineradicably on the Baptists of the United States, especially in the South.

---

*Preface to Minutes of Philadelphia Association, p. 5.
† " " " " " " p. 6.
‡ " " " " " " p. 4

The Charleston Association was operated on the same principles. The minutes of 1809 show that a proposal was received from the Philadelphia and Warren Associations, recommending their missionary plans and making a suggestion as to their adoption and extension, to which the Association makes the following reply:

> The proposal for extending the plan of operations respecting Missions, being taken up, it was agreed that the contributions hitherto made by the Churches, and perhaps their real ability to contribute, together with the magnitude of those objects on which we have already fixed our attention, and which ought not to be lost sight of, make it improper for this Association to attempt anything farther of that kind at present; unless individuals, who have the subject at heart, and ability to contribute with effect, would by generous donations put it in the power of this body to undertake it with consistency. A hope was however expressed that such assistance will be afforded; and that in time a plan may be adopted to unite all the Associations in this State in common efforts to attain this, and other important objects.*

This quotation reveals a distinct tendency to co-operation in mission work. The Charleston Association also shows at this time a students' and education fund,† and it had been since 1802 conducting a mission to the Catawba Indians. In 1809, its mission fund amounted to $140.00; in 1810, to $249,32; and in 1811 to $298.64¾. The minutes of 1811, show this Association to be in correspondence with the

---

* Minutes of Charleston Association of 1809, p. 2.

† Compare page 5 of same Minutes.

Philadelphia, Warren, Georgia, Cook, Bethel, Hephzibah, Edgefield, Neuse, Sandy Creek, and Cape Fear Associations.

In Maine, although the other denominations were Arminian and the Baptists were charged with being hyper-Calvinistic, yet, "the first efforts made by Baptist ministers in the State were characterized by a missionary spirit," and they taught a practical as well as an experimental piety. In 1789 York Association adopted the plan of "voluntary supplies to the destitute." Lincoln and Cumberland Associations followed her example; but the labor was too vast, and both the labor and expense were borne by ministers alone without the aid of co-operative churches, thus leaving the churches undeveloped.* In 1789 Bowdenheim Association, and in 1800 York Association, started a "*gospel mission*" plan.

This plan consisted in the appointment of a *Committee* "to employ a suitable ordained elder as a missionary to travel into the eastern parts to preach and administer the ordinances of the gospel" and the churches were requested to sustain by their liberalities the missionary thus appointed. This plan interfered not with the plan of *voluntary supplies*. It contemplated a wider range of missionary effort. It was designed to carry the gospel not only to the destitute churches, *but to the new and distant settlements, where Christ was not preached to those who sat in darkness.*†

---

* The information as to missionary affairs in Maine is mainly taken from a History of the Baptists in Maine by Rev. J. Millett.

† Above, p. 425.

Both of these proving insufficient to meet growing needs and new settlements, the Bowdenheim Association in 1804 formed the Maine Baptist Missionary Society, with the same objects and general plan, nearly the whole denomination co-operating. This led to the organization of the Baptist State Convention at Winthrop, June 23, 1824.

In New England the Warren Association early made arrangements for the supply of *infant churches*. In 1778 it sent missionaries to visit "the northern parts of our country." These were successful. The Massachusetts churches contributed eighty-one pounds and ten shillings for a similar work. In Connecticut the Stonington Association, 1784, and Danbury Association, 1790, made arrangements for the supply of destitute churches. In Vermont the Woodstock Association in 1791 sent four missionaries to "a great number of infant settlements of Connecticut River, in the Upper Coos country, also to journey through the north part of the State of Vermont even . . . . within the Canada lines."*

Churches were requested to defray charges by contribution. As a result it was voted in 1804 that a committee of three be appointed to form a plan for a missionary society, so that in 1806 the Woodstock Baptist Missionary Association was organized. In the Shaftesbury Association, 1801, a proposition was made for *raising a fund by contribution*, "for the purposes of sending missionaries to preach the gospel in

* Burrage: History of New England Baptists, p. 135.

distant parts of our frontier settlements, and as far as we may have opportunity, among the nations of the wilderness." This plan was carried out in 1802 and the Vermont Association did the same thing.*

On May 26, 1802, the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society held its first meeting at the First Baptist Church in Boston. Article IV. of their Constitution was as follows:

"The object of this society shall be to furnish occasional preaching and to promote the knowledge of evangelical truth in the new settlements of the United States; or farther, if circumstances should render it proper."

In September, 1803, the Society commenced the publication of the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine," except one, the earliest Baptist periodical published in this country. In Connecticut the Danbury Association perfected a plan begun in 1806, by which missionaries were in charge of a committee and the churches contributed to their support. Action was anticipated by the organization in 1811 of the Connecticut Baptist Missionary Society, which did a thorough work in the State and even beyond. The following is the report of the Baptist Missionary Society in Massachusetts in 1812:

The northwesterly part of the State of Pennsylvania and the westerly part of the State of New York, have been visited by several of our missionaries and the solitary places cheered by the glad sound of the gospel. Nova Sco-

* Burrage: History of the Baptists in New England, p. 136,

tia and New Brunswick, with some parts of Lower Canada, have been visited; and the precious seed of the kingdom sown among them by the labors of our brethren. Nor have the destitute in Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire and the District of Maine been overlooked.*

The genesis of more distinctly foreign missionary work in New England is thus described by Burrage:

Interest in foreign missions on the part of Baptists in New England was first awakened by the work which Carey and his associates began in India. Carey corresponded with some of his American brethren, and his letters were published in the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine." There were those in this country who desired to engage in the foreign work, but Carey, writing July 30, 1807, said: "It has always been my opinion that all in America, whose hearts the Lord stirs up to this work should either go to the Indians, or to the back part of their own country, or to the neighboring islands, Cuba, St. Domingo, etc. I hope these fields will be soon occupied with laborers in the harvest of the Lord." Contributions were early secured for the translation of the Scriptures by Dr. Carey and his associates; and in the "Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine," for March, 1812, there is a reference to the collections for this purpose made in some of the churches. The collection at Dr. Baldwin's church in Boston, amounted to one hundred and forty-five dollars, and that of "Baptist Friends," in Middleboro, to seventy dollars.†

The Salem Bible Translation and Foreign Missionary Society, was organized in January, 1812, "to raise money

* Burrage. History of the Baptists in New England, p. 145. [Most of the statistics as to missionary affairs in New England prior to 1812 are taken from Burrage.]

† Burrage: History of Baptists in New England, p, 150.

to aid the translation of the Scriptures into the Eastern languages, at present going on at Serampore, under the superintendence of Dr. Wm. Carey, or if deemed advisable at any time to assist in sending a missionary or missionaries from this country to India.*

Dr. Burrage also gives the following synopsis as to the beginning of Woman's Work in foreign missions:

Boston Female Society for missionary purposes, organized 1800.

Baptist Missionary Magazine, for May, 1804, contains letter of a young lady sending $10.00 for missionary work.

Woman's Mite Society, at Charlestown, Massachusetts, organized 1809.

Woman's Mite Society, at Warren, Rhode Island, organized 1808.

Female Mite Society, of Portland, Maine, organized 1810.

Female Donary Society, of North Yarmouth, organized 1811.

In 1812, the first fruits of the Female Benevolent Society of Livermore, Me., where George Dana Boardman, the sainted missionary, was born in 1801, amounted to fourteen dollars and eight cents. In 1811, the Boston Female Society for Missionary Purposes, appropriated all its subscriptions for the year to the translation of the Scriptures, carried on so successfully and extensively by the missionaries at Serampore, in Bengal. After Judson, there were many spinning, weaving, knitting and other feminine societies to promote the mission cause.

---

* Burrage: History of Baptists in New England, p. 151,

So we see by the year 1812 the Baptists of the United States, having already thrown out feelers and grown somewhat in touch with each other, were ready to be fused into an organic whole by the warm glow of fraternal sympathy and missionary zeal. Two hundred thousand strong they stood, but when the missionary test came it was to divide them exactly in twain one hundred thousand falling in with the missionary spirit, and an equal number destined to dash themselves vainly against the thick bosses of Jehovah's buckler.

In February of 1812, on two ships widely separated, starting the one from Salem, the "City of Peace," and the other from Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love," sailed two of the first missionaries of the gospel that the Occident sent back to the Orient, Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice. These men without collusion and each without knowledge that the mind of the other was disturbed, became convinced by a study of the New Testament that only the *immersion* of the *believer* constituted baptism, and on reaching India they were so baptized.

On February 12th, of the same year, in Pennsylvania, Alexander Campbell and other members of his family, without collusion or either knowing that the mind of the other was disturbed, all came to the conclusion from a careful study of the New Testament, that only the immersion in water of a believer constituted Christian baptism, and they were so baptized and received into the fellowship of the Brush Run Baptist Church.

The first group thus undergoing this remarkable experience by preaching *all* of the Great Commission, made the Baptist name glorious at home and renowned abroad. The principal one of the other group—Mr Campbell—became the greatest foe this missionary movement ever had. Truly—

> "God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform."

The lesson we may learn is: It takes more than baptism to make a Baptist.

CHAPTER II.

CONNECTION OF JUDSON AND RICE WITH THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY MOVEMENT.

The real awakening of the Baptists of America to missionary activity and the mightiest impulses to missionary success, will be developed in relating some events in the lives of two men—Luther Rice and Adoniram Judson. We will first take into consideration the biography of

LUTHER RICE.

He was born in the town of Northborough, Worcester County, Massachusetts, March 25th, 1783. His father was a captain in the patriot army during the Revolution. His mother was a woman of vigorous mind, which she improved with all the educational means at her command. Both parents were members of the Congregational Church, although it is doubtful if either was at that time a Christian. As a child, Luther was of a sweet and winning disposition, though ever thoughtfully and seriously disposed. He was taught the Westminster Catechism; while still a boy he labored under

intense and awful conviction of sin. For many months he alternately endeavored, by the advice of the minister, or the minister's wife, to find peace in works, merit, and in formal connection with the church, or to forget his despair in worldly gaiety. On surrendering his whole life to Christ he found wonderful peace, and became a vigorous church worker, much to the astonishment of some and the disgust of others of his fellow church members. His father persecuted and ridiculed him, and he was refused a place to hold church prayer meetings by the members of the church. His brother, Asaph, and a Baptist who lived in the community were the only two who would open their houses for his prayer meetings. Yet with all his enthusiasm he did not depart from the path of discretion, and he met the rage of his foes with the meekness and mildness of a lamb; though serious, he was not morose; though religious, he was not austere. His righteous soul was constrained to dispute with the prevalent Arminianism and Universalism, although he did so in the sweetest Christian spirit.

The continued persecution by his father, the suggestion of an evangelic Calvinistic minister, and the call of God pressing upon his soul led him to determine to be a minister. Having spent three years in preparatory work at the Leicester Academy, he entered the sophomore class of Williams College in the early part of October, 1807. His life, while at college, was marked by a high ideal of purity, Christian

deportment and religious zeal. Especially did he cherish the hope of a revival in his home town of Newborough and among the unconverted members of his own family. He was able to see thoroughly the shallowness and the desolating moral influence of the prevalent French infidelity, and to turn from it in loathing.

Mr. Rice was licensed to preach by the Mountain Association, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, and went to the Andover Theological Seminary during the last year of his college course. He was a hard student, and made a brilliant record both at college and seminary. He helped to pay his way by teaching school during the vacation periods. He received a regular dismission from the Seminary in 1811. The story of the band of youug men at Williams College and Andover Seminary is known to all the world. Enthusiastically missionary in spirit from the time of his conversion, always doing with all his might and all his heart the duty nearest at hand, Luther Rice felt when he entered Williams College in 1807, that he must give *himself* to the foreign mission work. Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, and one or two others were impressed with the same conviction in regard to themselves. In which of these hearts the fire first flamed will, perhaps, never be definitely known, although the honor is usually ascribed to Samuel J. Mills. These young men formed themselves into a secret society for inquiry on the subject of missions. They discussed missionary obligations, consecration,

needs and fields. While at Williams College they were accustomed to meet under a haystack. At the same time, unknown to them, the same deep impression had been made on the heart of Adoniram Judson, at Andover Theological Seminary. Nott, who soon after entered the Seminary, became Judson's first missionary associate, and when a few months later the little group from Williams College came to Andover, the circle was complete. Rice had early felt impulses toward Asia and Judson's mind had been turned that way by reading Buchanan's "Star in the East."

At a meeting of the General Association of Ministers at Bradford, in the summer of 1810, this little band, being further encouraged by a visit from Gordon Hall, who opportunely arrived at that time, presented to the assembled ministers a memorial written by Judson, expressing the desire of these young men to go to the foreign field. At first, the names of Adoniran Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel J. Mills, Samuel Newell, James Richards and Luther Rice were all subscribed to it. The last two names were, however, erased from the fear that the unexpected appearance of *so many* desiring to go, when *none* were anticipated, might injure the chances of *all*. On receipt of the memorial, the Association appointed a committee, to whom the petition was referred, and who finally reported favorably. In consequence, nine commissioners were appointed by the body, who in September of the same year, formed the the American Board of Commissioners of For-

eign Missions. This Board, after vainly trying to get the London Missionary Society to assume or share the responsibility (sending Judson to England for that purpose), decided to send out the four missionaries. As the tim approached for them to start, Rice could no longer restrain himself, and insisted on being allowed to go with them. The Board gave him leave on condition that he would occasion them no additional expense, but provide for his own outfit and raise the money for his passage. He cheerfully complied, and traveled on horseback day and night, in the depths of winter, to raise the needful sum. He and his associates, Nott and Hall, were ordained at the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Massachusetts, February 6, 1812. They left Philadelphia on February 18, in the "Harmony," and arrived at Calcutta, August 10th, where they were received by Judson and Newell, who had sailed from Salem on the 19th of February, but had made a quicker voyage. On that voyage began the study that led Mr. Rice into the Baptist ranks. While Mr. Judson was practically convinced before he reached Calcutta, it seems that Mr. Rice had not by the time of his arrival reached a definite conclusion. The following account, I think, fairly shows his mental processes and progresses in the matter.

Mr. Rice was early troubled with scruples on the subject of Baptism. In a discussion with a Baptist friend of inferior intellectual qualifications, he felt himself to be bested, but resolved to dismiss the matter as a non-essential.

On the voyage over he discussed the subject with two English Baptist missionaries, Messrs. Johns and Lawson. Judson and his wife were baptized by Dr. Ward in September, 1812. On the 17th of September, Mr. Rice heard Mr. Judson preach on this theme, from Matthew 28:19. On the 11th of October, he discussed the matter with Hall and Nott. On November 1st, 1812, he was baptized by Mr. Ward. The following seems to be a true summary of the facts: He had early been concerned, but had dismissed the idea. He had renewed the investigation on the voyage over, and had heard the matter discussed by Baptist missionaries and by Judson himself, but according to his own testimony, his decision was based on his own earnest searching of the New Testament. Judson was convinced on the ocean; Rice, not until he had been some weeks in Calcutta. This is his own account of the matter:

To the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions:

VENERABLE AND BELOVED:—Since the important moment which placed me under the protection and control of your venerated patronage, a change of sentiment, in relation to the sacred rite of baptism, having put it out of my power to render obedience to a particular article of your very valuable instructions, (*) I deem it my duty, and beg leave to make the following communication relative to this change:

During my passage to India, in the ship "Harmony," some authorities were brought to my notice respecting the signification of the word *baptiso;* particularly, some re-

* This was Article X. of his instructions, which commanded him to baptize *believers and their households.*

marks from the pen of Dr. Campbell, which had not before met my observation, were of a nature that induced me to suspect sprinkling not to be a proper mode of baptizing; at least, not so proper a mode as immersion. A wish also existed in my mind to possess more clear and decisive proof in favor of baptizing infants than I found myself able, readily, to produce; and though I had previously considered the subject at large with attention, I felt something like a necessity of refreshing my mind with its evidences, and determined to give it a careful reconsideration, as circumstances should be favorable to the purpose. The attention, however, which I actually bestowed upon it, pursuant to this determination, previously to landing in India, neither destroyed my suspicions respecting the propriety of sprinkling as a mode of baptism, nor gave that entire satisfaction, or rather, that ready command of decisive proof in favor of infants, as proper subjects of the rite, which I so much wished to possess, and had determined, if possible, to obtain.

On reaching Calcutta I was surprised and sorry to learn, that Brother Judson, as I immediately apprehended from his conversation, and as proved true, in fact, was nearly prepared to declare himself a Baptist; and though this of itself, could neither augment nor diminish the difficulty which was forming in my own mind, yet it contributed, perhaps, to make that difficulty more distinctly and painfully perceptible to myself, and to strengthen the purpose of bestowing upon the subject, a serious reconsideration, as soon as circumstances should allow. But as my health had been considerably reduced during the latter part of my voyage, and was kept low and precarious by repeated attacks of illness, in Bengal; and as the concerns of the mission demanded all the attention which a state of threatening debility would permit me to exert, it was unavoidable to postpone this purpose for a while, though the subject began to create some degree of uneasiness in my mind. . . . .

At length, having been hindered from leaving Bengal,

things assumed such an aspect as exhibited little probability of being able to get away for a considerable time longer; and about the same time my physician, in a measure, restricted me from venturing abroad, though undergoing, meanwhile, a process of salivation, I felt comfortably well day after day, and week after week. In this situation, no longer greatly occupied with other concerns, it appeared to be a duty equally clear and important, to take up the consideration of baptism with very great seriousness and deliberation, and to endeavor to become fully persuaded in my own mind, both respecting the proper subjects and the proper mode of the sacred ordinance; and the result was a conviction, that those persons only who appear to be pious, are proper subjects; and that immersion is the only proper mode of Christian baptism. . . . .
[The rest of the letter is occupied with an account of his immediate endeavors to communicate his change of sentiments to the Board and his reasons for leaving India, and is signed, "Venerable and beloved, your missionary, Luther Rice."]

Mr. Rice, in writing to his brother on the same topic, gives a more complete statement of the reason for his change of views: *

To me, the subject appears so perfectly clear, that I am entirely at a loss to attempt making it, in any measure, more so.

When in Calcutta, I felt it my duty to endeavor to ascertain and practice *simply what the Savior required*; I soon discovered that it was proper to baptize such as made a creditable profession of repentance toward God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and that immersion is baptism, according to the Scriptures. In the days of the apostles, *they that believed were baptized*. This fact is expressly stated, and comports with the explicit command of the Saviour.

---

* Taylor's Memoir of Luther Rice, pp. 109-112.

That *immersion* is baptism, appears evident to me, because the apostle says of the believers in his time, that they were *buried* by baptism. All the efforts to do away the obvious, common sense meaning of this passage, appear to me, to be mere quibbles. Certainly, I should think him unacquainted with language, who should speak of being *buried by sprinkling*. These things, with many others, coinciding in the same view, came into my mind, and I could not, for my life, find anything in *the Bible* of an opposite character. I dared not resist the light any longer, for I feared the Lord would not bless my labors, if I refused obedience to what was to my mind, so perfectly clear in the Bible.*

The difficulties experienced by the missionaries on account of the attitude of the British Government and the East India Company, and the complications caused by America and England being in a state of war, belong rather to the story of foreign missions abroad than of foreign missions at home. Mr. Rice's resignation was very discourteously accepted by the Board, although he was not aware of it until his return. He left India on March the 15th, 1813, and arrived in New York September 7th.

The most significant incident of his return for our purposes was a funeral sermon over the body of a sailor, which led to the conversion of two of the sailor's comrades, one of whom, Elder Thompson, became quite useful in the United States as a Baptist preacher. The first two objects of his return are set forth by him as follows:

1st. To communicate information to the Board of Commissioners, and to have my interesting connection with that body, adjusted in a regular and proper manner.

* Taylor's Memoir of Luther Rice, pp. 115-116.

2d. To contribute towards engaging the Baptist churches of America, in the missionary cause, and to obtain for ourselves, if practicable, their patronage, in case the Board should, on account of our change of sentiment, in relation to baptism release us from their service.

Rice earnestly cherished the hope of an immediate return as missionary, either to India or to South America, but Providence had other designs as to his future in the missionary field.

The great problem immediately confronting Mr. Rice, was to awaken American Baptists to their responsibilities and opportunities in Asia. Judson and Rice, immediately after their conversion, had written to prominent Baptists in America on this subject, their letters reaching America in February, 1813. In fact, Judson, before he had any idea of being a Baptist, had suggested to Dr. Bolles, of Salem, the formation of a Baptist Society.* But nothing then came of the suggestion. As soon as Rice had severed his connection with the American Board of Commissioners, he set about his work.

Accordingly, several of the towns contiguous to Boston were visited for the purpose of conferring with such benevolent individuals as might be supposed to take an interest in this subject. There were then in existence four or five Baptist Foreign Mission Societies in New England. The oldest was located in Salem, it having been organized shortly after the sailing of the missionaries from this country. Besides this, may be mentioned the societies formed in Boston, Providence, and Haverhill.

---

* Leonard: A Hundred Years of Missions, p. 121. Compare also Burrage: History of Baptists in New England, *in loco*.

In the month of September, a few days after the decision of the Board of Commissioners, a conference of discreet brethren in Boston, was held, to consult on the course proper to be pursued in the exigencies of the case.

It was thought necessary to proceed at once to the adoption of measures, which might excite the Baptists of this country, to combine their energies in the mission cause. They concluded to issue a circular, which should be sent to prominent individuals in different parts of the United States. This circular proposed a general co-operation of the churches. At first, it was thought advisable to make the Boston Society, which had been formed in consequence of Mr. Judson's change of sentiment, and which had already assumed the responsibility for his support, the parent institution. But at the suggestion of Mr. Rice, they concluded, as soon as practicable, to call a meeting of delegates from different parts of the country, at which time, some organization might be formed to conduct these operations on a more enlarged scale.*

His next step was a tour of the Southern States. He left Boston September 9th, 1813, and after a short visit to his home, proceeded to New York, where he found the brethren ready to co-operate. Leaving New York, he arrived in Philadelphia the same day the Philadelphia Association commenced its annual meeting. His visit here resulted in the subsequent formation of the Philadelphia Baptist Missionary Society. From Philadelphia he went to Baltimore, Washington and Richmond, meeting encouragement all along the Atlantic seaboard, and especially at Charleston Association, which Association Rice visited again in 1819 and 1820. His manner

* Taylor: Memoir of Luther Rice, pp. 136, 137.

of work and the success met with may be illustrated by the following extract from the minutes of that Association for the year 1813:

Dr. Furman introduced the Rev. Luther Rice, as a member of the church at Serampore in India; and as a Missionary who had communications to make to the Association. He was accordingly invited to a seat, which he accepted, and delivered to the Moderator a written address, on the subject of Foreign Missions; together with letters of Recommendations and other Documents; and was received with great affection. * * * * * *

Finished reading the Documents which accompanied Mr. Rice's address: when he, at the Association's request, made verbal communications on the state of religion in India; and concerning his views of the openings for missions at other places; particularly at the Isle of France, Madagascar and the Brasils. His account of the state of religion in India, corroborated those before given in the Baptist Missionary Magazine; in the writings of Dr. Buchanan, etc., especially the former, with respect to the interests of the Baptist Mission at Serampore. On these he stated, that the excellent Dr. Carey and his pious, able Associates, were proceeding with indefatigable zeal and constancy in translating and printing the Scriptures in 18 languages of the eastern nations, comprehending hundreds of millions of human beings, now held in a state of idolatry of gross superstition. That many Hindoos, some of whom were Brahmins, had embraced the gospel, apparently with an unfeigned faith. That a considerable number of churches were formed in that extensive country; one, in a flourishing state, at Calcutta; and that Missionary establishments are effected at various places there, to the extent of two thousand miles—that about 40 Ministers are now employed, in connection with the Mission in preaching the gospel; many of them natives, who were lately idolaters—and that the call for ministers is great and urgent.—He also confirmed the account contained in the

Magazine before referred to and mentioned in his recommendation.—That, Mr. Judson and himself, who had been sent as Missionaries to India, by our Congregational brethren in New England, had, from the conviction of their own minds, in consequence of searching the Scriptures, embraced Baptist principles, and had been, together with Mr. Judson's wife, baptized in India. To which he added, that he had left Mr. Judson and his wife at the Isle of France; and had returned to the United States to see, whether the Baptist churches here will do anything toward sending Missionaries among these Heathen Nations, to which the providence of God seems so directly to point.—These communications were received with much satisfaction. The documents referred to containing the outline of a plan for directing missionary efforts extensively on the plan of concert; and being recommended by respectable ministers in Boston, Philadelphia, etc.—Therefore, agreed, that the following brethren, Dr. Furman, General Thomas, and the Moderator, be a committee to consider the subject, and, if in their judgment it be found expedient, to report a plan for this Association to act upon, founded on that general scheme. * * * * * * * * * *

The committee on the subject of Missions reported—that they had considered the subject with seriousness, and were of the opinion that a common united effort among the Baptist churches in the United States to send the gospel among the Heathen, and Nations destitute of pure gospel light, is both laudable and expedient. They, therefore, submitted a plan for this Association, by which their ability might be called forth into operation, in concert with that of their brethren in other parts of the National Union.

The proposed plan was then read, and on putting the question for its adoption it passed, unanimously, in the affirmative.—In consequence of which, agreed, that the plan be published, separately from the Minutes of the Association, and be sent with them to the respective churches. —It contemplates the formation of Societies by voluntary

associations, in the bounds of the churches, or in any part of the State; making the incorporated General Committee the center of their union, and medium of communication with other bodies formed on a similar plan, and for similar purposes. It enlarges the special committee, and provides for their having a Corresponding Secretary. * * * * * * * * * * *

Agreed that the next circular letter be an answer to this question:—What obligations are Christians under to contribute their aid in support of gospel missions? Also appointed our brother J. M. Roberts to write the letter.*

The circular letter on missions which was printed the following year was a model in its way. Similar letters would do great good at the present day.† After visiting most of the prominent towns and churches in the South, Rice returned to Philadelphia. Everywhere the expediency of general consultation and the power of organization and education were urged. Judson had written to Dr. Bolles, reminding him of the conversation he had had with him concerning a Baptist Society; this led to the organization of "The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and other Foreign Parts," at Dr. Baldwin's house in Boston, on receipt of Judson's letter. This society had made provision for co-operation. A similar society was also formed in Rhode Island. About this time the Philadelphia Society formed by Rice sent out a circular to prominent brethren and churches, inviting them to a gen-

* Minutes of Charleston Baptist Association, Nov. 6th, 1813, sections 5, 12, 16 and 21.

† Compare circular letter of Charleston Association for 1814.

eral conference to lay plans for co-operation. Consequently, on May 18th, 1814, ministers and delegates from all parts of the United States met in Philadelphia, with Richard Furman as chairman and Dr. Thomas Baldwin as secretary. It was unanimously decided to form the "General Convention of the Baptist Denomination in the United States for Foreign Missions." The support of Judson was enthusiastically undertaken, and Rice was prevailed on to continue his agency among the American churches. The following year was spent by him among the northern and eastern churches.

In 1814, by invitation of the First Baptist Church of Hartford, a convention was held for the purpose of considering the subject of "aiding the missionary operations in the East." Rev. Luther Rice was present, and at that time, Aug. 31, 1814, the Connecticut Auxiliary to the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions was organized. With its work in behalf of foreign missions the Society soon began to combine work in behalf of domestic missions, and the constitution was accordingly modified. This organization, afterwards known as the Connecticut Baptist Missionary Society, continued to prosecute its work for both foreign and home missions until the organization of the Connecticut Baptist Convention in 1823.*

Rice visited Kentucky for the first time in 1815.† The same year he made his first report, showing 70 auxiliary societies organized; 7,800 miles traveled; $3,700 raised.‡

---

*Burrage: History of Baptists of New England, p. 144.

† Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 569.

‡ Vedder: History of Baptists in the Middle States.

When the Rev. Luther Rice first visited the churches in Kentucky and Tennessee, and brought before them the subject of foreign missions, the contributions were larger than in any other States. We have attended camp meetings and associations in this Valley, where members of the church and other persons in the settlement would expend five hundred dollars in providing for the accommodation and entertainment of all who came from a distance. We must look for some other cause than want of liberality in western people for the origin of their prejudices.*

During this period Mr. Rice sometimes rode more than four hundred miles in less than six days. About 1817 Mr. Rice suggested the issuing under the patronage of the Board of a quarterly publication to diffuse information on the subject of missions. So originated the "Latter Day Luminary." The anti-mission spirit which now began to rear its slimy head is treated fully in another chapter. Mr. Rice's connection with the educational movement will also be set forth in another chapter, especially the nature of his relation to Columbian College. Suffice it to say that he first of all recognized the great truth that organization and education are a *sine qua non* of missionary endeavor. After a few years the twin interest of education usurped to a great extent his efforts. To it he gave his life, and dying, he left to it all he had—a few papers and the horse and sulky by means of which he had traversed so

* Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 570. Possibly the same people who exercised this liberality did not show the anti-missionary spirit. Spencer quotes from "Christian Review," V. XVII., pp. 490, 491.

many thousand miles in the interest of his beloved "College." He died on Saturday, September 25th, 1836. During all his life foreign missions was the object nearest his heart, and that in later years he became absorbed in educational work was only because he perceived its vital relationship to the success of his first love.

I am aware that in this synopsis of facts and figures I have done but scant justice to the goodness, greatness and power of Luther Rice. I see him as a boy, when the missionary dream first found a lodgement in his heart. For harboring it he was reviled and cursed, as was Joseph the dreamer. He had a home, but because of that dream his foes became those of his own household. He had a father, who drove him forth as a visionary young fool. He had church membership, but his pastor endeavored to discourage him; his pastor's wife tried to put out the fires of his soul by inducing him to plunge into the pomps and gaieties of a vain world; and his fellow-members closed the doors of their homes against his prayer meetings. I see him as he stood with the little band of his fellow-students in the shadow of a haystack and planned the evangelization of the world. I see his frail figure as he rides in the depth of winter to collect the means to carry him with these young wise men of the West who have once again seen "His Star in the East," and who go to worship Him. I see him as he stands by the young girl to whom he has given his heart, and listens to her pleadings to for-

sake, for her sake, this idle dream. But with breaking heart, he snaps the chain that binds him to her who was unworthy of his love, and for Christ's sake, denies himself forever the love of wife or child. I see him on shipboard, racked with long sickness or poring over the records of the baptism of Jesus. I see him as he stands in the far East, with his foot pressed on virgin missionary soil. Before him are the Pagan and idolatrous abominations of the heathen which he has come to destroy. From out the gloom, come their sighs of despair, their groans of anguish, their wails for help. Behind him are the hopes and aspirations of the denomination to whom he had given his allegiance, and who had sent him forth. But in his hand there is the plain record of the Word of God, and the example and command of his Lord. And in his ear there rings the warning, "Whoso shall break the least of these commandments and shall teach men so, the same shall be least in the kingdom of God."

I see the sad farewell between him and Judson, as he starts once more for his native land to preach at home the gospel of foreign missions. I see his rude reception by the Congregational Board and his warm welcome by American Baptists. I see him like a firebrand, kindling the Atlantic slope, and like a brilliant meteor blazing into the West. Everywhere before him, unintegrated and apathetic atoms —everywhere behind him blazing and enthusiastic organizations. I see the icy-hearted monster of Hardshellism drag its slimy length

across his path, and strike at him with its antinomian and Arminian fangs. I see his struggle for Christian education; his trials, his failures, his buoyant hope painting the dark future with faith's brilliant colors; while those who walk by sight alone call the picture exaggeration and even falsehood. I see him emerge from the cloud of suspicion and reproach once more into the light. I count his long years of unremunerated toil. I watch him as he comes to die, leaving his sole assets, his horse and sulky, to the college—all for the College. I realize, standing beside his couch, that

> "Jesus can make a dying bed
> Feel soft as downy pillows are."

Quietly he passes to his long home, this hero of the cross. I see the last scene of earth, when before a crowded assembly Dr. J. B. Jeter preaches a commemorative sermon from Matthew 19:29, "*And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and shall inherit everlasting life.*" Reverently I bow my head and say, Amen, even so, Lord Jesus.

Over his lonely grave in the churchyard of the Pine Pleasant Church, Edgefield District, South Carolina, the Baptist Convention of that State, in 1837, erected a monument with the inscription:

"BORN	BENEATH THIS MARBLE	DIED
March 25th,	Are deposited the Remains of Elder	Sept. 25th,
A. D. 1783.	LUTHER RICE,	A. D. 1836.

A minister of Christ, of the Baptist Denomination,
He was a native of Northboro, Massachusetts,
And departed this life in Edgefield District, S. C.
In the death of this distinguished servant of the Lord, "is a great man fallen in Israel."

"THAN HE

Perhaps no American has done more for the great Missionary Enterprise. It is thought the first American foreign mission, on which he went to India, associated with Judson and others, originated with him. And if the Burman's have cause of gratitude toward Judson, for a faithful version of God's Word; so they will thro' generations to come 'arise up and call Rice blessed,' for it was his eloquent appeals for the heathen, on his return to America, which raised our Baptist churches to adopt the Burman Mission, and sustain Judson in his arduous toils.

No Baptist has done more for the cause of education. He founded 'The Columbian College in the District of Columbia,' which he benevolently intended, by its central position, to diffuse knowledge, both literary and religious, through these United States. And if, for want of deserved patronage, that unfortunate Institution, which was the special subject of his prayers and toils, for the last fifteen years of his life, fail to fulfill the high purpose of its founder; yet, the spirit of education, awakened by his labors, shall accomplish his noble aim.

LUTHER RICE,

With a portly person and commanding presence,
Combined a strong and brilliant intellect.
As a theologian he was orthodox;
A scholar, his education was liberal.
He was an eloquent and powerful preacher;
A self-denying and indefatigable philanthropist.
His frailties with his dust are entombed;
And upon the walls of Zion, his virtues engraven.
By order of the Baptist Convention for the State of South Carolina This monument is erected
To His Memory." *

* * * * * * * *

The following lines suggested by the dying words of Luther Rice and written by Charles

* Taylor's Memoir of Luther Rice, p. 265.

W. Denison, form another monument to the memory of him who, as a factor in our present denominational development, was *facile princeps*:*

"Aye, take them to the College! let them be
My dying testament. I shall be dead
To-night. And now my heart untwines its ties
On earth, and gives its treasures back again
To heaven—the heart of all the universe.
Come near, my friends, ye need not fear to breathe
Beside me now. O would my mounting soul
Had ever soared in atmosphere like this!
'Tis heaven's own air that floats around me here,
And ye should joy to drink it freely in!
Come nearer. I have much to say—and I
Am passing like a shadow on the face
Of time. My destiny has been to point
To the meridian of the church—and now
My spirit points to that of endless day.
O how it soars! and longs to bathe its wings
In the full sunshine of the face of God!
But, ere I mount, grant me this one request!
Take all, and give the College. Let the wealth
Which some might bring to gild my coffin with
Be consecrated where was my poor life.
Nothing for me—but everything for God!
And let me die, as I have lived, all armed
For battle on the tented field. Let the sounds
Of rushing host—of flashing banner free
Along the breeze—and clash of sword with sword
In spiritual fray—and cheers and shouts
Of 'Victory! Victory!' greet me as I die—
O, 'tis glorious thus to fall asleep.

* * * * *

Hark! Did you speak of India? or did I?
Or was I dreaming of it? Yet methought,
I heard the voice of Newell—was it thine,
My Judson? Thou panoplied of God!
Ah Boardman! is it thou that speaks? I hear!
I hear! And Wheelock! art thou there?
These river damps have loaded me with chills

* Taylor's Memoir of Luther Rice, pp. 342, 344.

So I but illy hear thee! Bring ye news?
Have dying pagans turned to Christ to-day?
Oh! I have walked the weary round! And yet
It was not wearying—for I had rod
And staff in all the promises—and there
Were some in whom the word did strike its roots.
Shout! For the harvest reapers and our arms
Shall bring their loads of sheaves and cast them in
The granary of God. But Judson! See!
Thy wife is falling there! She falls! what she,
The good—the brave—the fair! and Boardman, too!
Yonder, within the jungle where he toiled,
They dug his grave. How heavy is the air
I breathe from this low place of death! I faint
I sink!
Ah! no! it was a dream! Methought
I was in India—but I see, friends,
Are all beside me! Heard ye my request!
Aye, take them to the College! Let me die
With their departed spirits hovering
Around me, and their benison shall drop
Like dew upon my soul. Hail! Staughton, hail!
I see thee now—I hear thy welcome song!
I come! I come! and as I mount to fly
I catch a glimpse of those I seek, beyond!
Karens! My Burmans! ye are with them there.
Your hands, good friends—'Tis sweet to part as now
For that which wings me on, wings you. Aye, take
All to the College! I am heaven's and God's."

Adoniram Judson, Jr.

The conversion of this man to Baptist views, and his missionary labors and successes severally, contained the genesis and stimulus of American Baptist Missions. But we propose to study only the reflex effect of his work, *i. e.* the influence of the story of his work on American Baptists. We cannot, therefore, take up his life in detail.

Adoniram Judson, Jr., the son of a Congregational minister, was born in Malden, Massachusetts, August 9th, 1788. In 1809, he read

Claudius Buchanan's "Star in the East." This sermon, preached by an ex-chaplain of the British East India Company, from Matthew 2: 2, told the story of the missionary labors of the venerable German Schwartz. It set his soul aflame and six months later, February, 1810, he resolved to become a missionary to the heathen. Whether he, Rice or Samuel Mills, Jr., was the first to feel the divine afflatus, we cannot surely say. The story of the little band at Andover, when he and Samuel Nott, Jr., had been joined by the four young men from Williams College, has been already narrated. Judson fully appreciated the grave dangers of a missionary career, and had counted the cost before he put his shoulder to the wheel. This is forcibly seen in a letter to Ann Hasseltine, his betrothed, in which he reminds her that one of their trials must needs be, that one of them must stand by the lonely grave of the other and say with literal truth:

> "By foreign hands thy dying eyes were closed:
> By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed;
> By foreign hands thy humble grave adorned;" *

But his sweetheart, too, had counted the cost, and on February 5th, 1812, she was united with him in marriage, at Bradford, on the eve of his departure for Asia. She embarked with him on February 19th, to sail for that foreign land in which she was to find that lonely grave of which he had written. On the voyage over occurred their conversion to Baptist beliefs. This is how it occurred:

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son Edward Judson p. 21.

(1) Article 10 of the instructions given to the five missionaries directed them to baptize "credible believers and their households."* But it forbade them to admit any but the first-named class to church membership.†

(2) Judson knew that when he reached India he would have to meet Dr. Carey and the Baptist missionaries there, and feared he would be called upon to give a reason for the faith that was within him. In fact, he bore a letter of introduction to these men from the corresponding secretary of the American Board.‡ As a matter of fact, however, the gentlemen at Serampore refrained on the principle of courtesy from introducing the subject of their peculiar belief in the presence of brethren of other denominations who might be their guests.§ Indeed they were quite surprised to learn of Judson's changed views.‖

(3) The first point of difficulty was in applying the analogy of the Abrahamic covenant to the Christian church. According to this theory, and to his instructions, he must baptize the still idolatrous servants and children, young or old, of those who believed. He thus describes his investigation and its result:

When I proceeded to consider certain passages, which are thought to favor the Pedobaptist system, I found nothing satisfactory. The sanctification which St. Paul

* Wayland's Memoir of Rev. Dr. Judson, vol. 1, p. 110.

† H. C. Conant: The Earnest Man.

‡ H. C. Conant: The Earnest Man, p. 90.

§ Wayland's Memoir of Dr. Judson, vol. 1, p. 95.

‖ J. D. Knowles' Memoirs of Ann Hasseltine Judson, p. 79.

ascribes to the children of a believer, (1. Cor. 7: 14) I found that he ascribed to the unbelieving tyrant also; and therefore, whatever be the meaning of the passage, it could have no respect to church membership, or a right to church ordinances.

The declaration of St. Peter "the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call," (Acts 2:39) appeared not to bear at all on the point at hand, because the apostle does not command his hearers to have their children baptized or acknowledged members of the church, but to repent and be baptized themselves. There is, indeed, a promise made to their children, and to all others that God shall call; but it does not follow that they were to procure the baptism of their children, or of those that were afar off until they gave evidence that God had called them.

When Christ said, concerning little children, that, "of such is the kingdom of heaven," (Matthew 19: 14) it appeared to me that his comparison had respect, not to the age or size of little children, but to the humility and docility which distinguished them from adults. This seemed to be put beyond a doubt by his own explanation, in a similar passage, in which he says, "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Matthew 18: 3.)

The baptism of households, which is mentioned in three instances, I could not consider as affording any evidence one way or the other, because in a household there may be infants and unbelieving domestics, and there may not. Besides, I discovered some circumstances in each of the cases which led me to conclude, that the members of the households were real believers. They are expressly said to be so in the case of the jailer, (Acts 16: 34) and the same is evidently implied in the case of Stephanas, when it is said that they addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints. (1 Cor. 1: 16.)

In a word, I could not find a single intimation in the New Testament that the children and domestics of be-

lievers were members of the church, or entitled to any church ordinance, in consequence of the profession of the head of their family. Everything discountenanced this idea. When baptism was spoken of, it was always in connection with believing. None but believers were commanded to be baptized; and it did not appear to my mind that any others were baptized.

Here, then, appeared a striking difference between the Abrahamic and the Christian systems. The one recognized the membership of children, domestics, and remote descendants of professors, and tended directly to the establishment of a national religion. The other appeared to be a selective system, acknowledging none as members of the church but such as gave credible evidence of believing in Christ.

This led me to suspect that these two systems, so evidently different, could not be one and the same. And now the light began to dawn. The more I read, and the more I meditated on the subject, the more clearly it occurred to me that all my errors and difficulties had originated in confounding these two systems.

I began to see that since the very nature and constitution of the church of Christ excluded infants and unregenerate domestics, repentance and faith being represented as always necessary to constitute a disciple, we had no right to expect any directions for, or any examples of, the initiation of such unqualified persons into the church. To search for such directions and examples in the New Testament, would be as if the citizen of a republic should go to search his national code for laws concerning theroyal family, which, by the very nature and constitution of a republic, is excluded. Suppose that such a citizen disappointed in his search, should have recourse to the constitution and laws of a neighboring monarchy for the desired information. This, it appeared to me, would aptly represent the proceeding of those who, unable to find in the New Testament satisfactory proof of the right

of infants or unregenerate domestics, should have recourse to the Abrahamic and Jewish codes. . . " *

(4) But this left him unbaptized, as not being at the time of his christening a proper subject. What was he to do? I again let him state his difficulty:

If, thought I, this system is the true one; if the Christian church is not a continuation of the Jewish; if the covenant of circumcision is not precisely the covenant in which Christians now stand, the whole foundation of Pedo-baptism is gone; there is no remaining ground for the administration of any church ordinance to the children and domestics of professors; and it follows inevitably, that I, who was christened in infancy, on the faith of my parents, have never yet received Christian baptism. Must I, then, forsake my parents, the church with which I stand connected, the society under whose patronage I have come out, the companions of my missionary undertaking? Must I forfeit the good opinion of all my friends in my native land, occasioning grief to some, and provoking others to anger, and be regarded henceforth, by all my former dear acquaintances, as a weak, despicable Baptist, who has not sense enough to comprehend the connection between the Abrahamic and the Christian system? All this was mortifying; it was hard to flesh and blood. But I thought again, it is better to be guided by the opinion of Christ, who is the truth, than by the opinion of men however good, whom I know to be in error. The praise of Christ is better than the praise of men. Let me cleave to Christ at all events and prefer his favor above my chief joy. . .†

---

* Wayland's Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Judson, p. 100.

† Wayland's Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Judson, Vol. 1, p. 102. Wayland quotes from a letter of Dr. Judson to the Third Church in Plymouth, of which he had been until lately a member.

(5) The questions then arose as to the *mode* of Baptism, and the meaning of the Greek word which the King James translators anglicized into "baptize."

His conclusion on these points was equally decisive.

But throughout the whole New Testament I could find nothing that looked like sprinkling, in connection with the ordinance of baptism. It appeared to me, that if a plain person should, without any previous information on the subject, read through the New Testament, he would never get the idea, that baptism consisted in sprinkling. He would find that baptism, in all the cases particularly described, was administered in rivers, and that the parties are represented as going down into the water, and coming up out of the water, which they would not have been so foolish as to do for the purpose of sprinkling.

In regard to the word itself which is translated *baptism* a very little search convinced me that its plain, appropr ate meaning was immersion or dipping; and though I read extensively on the subject, I could not find that any learned Pedobaptist had ever been able to produce an instance, from any Greek writer, in which it meant sprinkling, or anything but immersion, except in some figurative applications, which could not be fairly brought into the question. The Rev. Prof. Campbell, D. D., of Scotland, the most learned Greek scholar and biblical critic of modern times, has the candor to declare, (though he was no Baptist, and, therefore, not to be suspected of partiality to the Baptist system) that the word was never, so far as he knew, employed in the sense of sprinkling, in any use, sacred or classical. (See his note on Matthew 3: 11). *

---

* Wayland: Memoir of Rev. Dr. Judson, pp. 102, 103. Wayland still quotes from Judson's letter to the Plymouth Church.

(6) In these researches his devoted wife took the Pedobaptist side and she was a champion not to be despised.* At first she endeavored to dissuade him from pursuing the investigation.† In a letter to her parents, she says, "I tried to have him give it up, and rest satisfied in his old sentiments, and frequently told him, if he became a Baptist, I would not."‡ She then depicted to him the consequence of a change of views on his part, but when he had made a decision, she herself carefully examined the evidences and came to the same conclusion—a conclusion unmarred by the shadow of a doubt. She so expresses her conviction in a letter to a friend, dated September 7th, 1812:

> Thus my dear Nancy, we are confirmed Baptists, not because we wish to be, but because truth compelled us to be. We have endeavored to count the cost, and be prepared for the many severe trials resulting from this change of sentiment. We anticipate loss of reputation, and of the affection and esteem of many of our American friends. But the most trying circumstance attending this change, and that which has caused most pain, is the separation which must take place between us and our dear missionary associates §

(7) Mr. Judson remained true to his conscience, his Bible and his God. He did not

---

* Wayland: Memoir of Rev. Dr. Judson, vol. 1, p. 106.

† Conant: The Earnest Man, p. 91.

‡ Wayland: Memoir of Rev. Dr. Judson, vol. 1, p. 107.

§ Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 39.

allow himself to be swerved by his affection for his wife, his own temporal interests or a false sentimentality.

> Reduced to this extremity, what, dear brethren, could I do? I saw that, in a double sense, I was unbaptized, and I felt the command of Christ press on my conscience.... Now, if I quieted my conscience in regard to my own personal baptism, and concluded that, on account of my peculiar circumstances, it was best to consult my own convenience, rather than the command of Christ, still the question would return, with redoubled force, How am I to treat the children and domestics of converted heathen?*

He and his wife were baptized on September 6, in Calcutta, by Rev. Mr. Ward of the English Baptist Mission.

I have dwelt on this change of views thus at length, because had Judson been successful in his effort to sustain his Pedobaptist views, it might have delayed the missionary movement among the Baptists in America for a quarter or even a half of a century. The accounts of this event in letters sent by Mr. and Mrs. Judson and others started the leaven to working. The Boston Baptist Missionary Society was among its first fruits. In a letter to Dr. Baldwin, Judson says, "Should there be formed a Baptist Society for the support of a mission in these parts, I shall be ready to consider myself their missionary."† One of the most

---

* Wayland's Memoir of the Rev. Dr. Judson, p. 103. (vol. 1.)

† Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 43.

effective of these letters was written to the Rev. Dr. Bolles, of Salem, Massachusetts:

CALCUTTA, September 1st, 1812.

REV. SIR: I recollect that, during a short interview I had with you in Salem, I suggested the formation of a society among the Baptists in America for the support of foreign missions, in imitation of the exertions of your English brethren. Little did I then expect to be personally concerned in such an attempt.

Within a few months, I have experienced an entire change of sentiments on the subject of baptism. My doubts concerning the correctness of my former system of belief commenced during my passage from America to this country; and after many painful trials, which none can know but those who are taught to relinquish a system in which they have been educated, I settled down in the full persuasion that the immersion of a professing believer in Christ is the only Christian baptism.

Mrs. Judson is united with me in this persuasion. We have signified our views and wishes to the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, and expect to be baptized in this city next Lord's day.

A separation from my missionary brethren, and a dissolution of my connection with the Board of Commissioners, seem to be necessary consequences. The missionaries at Serampore are exerted to the utmost of their ability in managing and supporting their extensive and complicated mission. Under these circumstances I look to you. Alone, in this foreign heathen land, I make my appeal to those whom, with their permission I will call *my Baptist brethren* in the United States.

With the advice of the brethren at Serampore, I am contemplating a mission on one of the eastern islands. They have lately sent their brother Chater to Ceylon, and their brother Robinson to Java. At present, Amboyna seems to present the most favorable opening. Fifty thousand souls are there perishing without the means of life; and

the situation of the island is such that a mission there established might, with the blessing of God, be extended to the neighboring islands in those seas.

But should I go thither, it is a most painful reflection that I must go alone, and also uncertain of the means of support. But I will trust in God. He has frequently enabled me to praise his divine goodness, and will never forsake those who put their trust in him. I am, dear sir,

Yours, in the Lord Jesus,

ADONIRAM JUDSON, Jr.*

Such letters as these thrilled the hearts of the Baptists. God's finger had put at their disposal three enthusiastic and thoroughly trained missionaries—the enthusiasm began to kindle, and the way was prepared for Luther Rice. During all the years of the mission these letters continued to come. They produced a flow of zeal, hope and liberality as rich and generous as the flow of an oil well in which dynamite cartridges are periodically exploded.

Mrs. H. C. Conant gives this account of the ardor of those days:

I recall, from my own childhood, vivid recollections of the enthusiasm which the topic of missions always awakened in the family circle; of the "Mission Box" in the parlor, through whose lid many an offering to the cause was dropped by Christian visitors; of the jubilee in the house, when a letter arrived from Mrs. Judson, or the Missionary Magazine arrived, with the joyful tidings of some new triumph of the gospel in far off Burmah. Nor was this a mere denominational feeling, em-

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, pp. 43, 44.

bracing only our own mission; it was a true Catholic love for all in every land and of every name, who are laboring for the evangelization of the world.*

Another source of influence was the ordaining and sending out from America of other missionaries. On October 15, 1816, Rev. Mr. Hough and family landed at Rangoon in response to the urgent plea for reinforcements. Again and again the missionaries urged Carey's famous plea, "We are," said they, "like men going down into a well; you stand at the top and hold the ropes. Do not let us fall." On September 19, 1818, Messrs. Coleman and Wheelock, with their wives, joined the mission at Rangoon. About 1826, George Dana Boardman and his beautiful wife arrived at Calcutta. Every missionary who came out meant more friends at home, more letters to cross the ocean to America, more laborers in the field, and consequently better reports and greater results to be told to the Baptists of America. Among those who joined the Judsons and the Wades in 1831, were Mr. and Mrs. Mason, Mr. and Mrs. Kincaid† and Mr. and Mrs. Jones. Still others arrived in 1832, and others yet later. Mr. Judson urged Americans not to leave the British to evangelize India alone, on the grounds that India was as accessible to America as it was to Great Britain; that American missionaries were received with far less suspicion than the English, who were suspected and feared; and finally, that whereas

* H. C. Conant: The Earnest Man, pp. 169, 170.

† Mr. Kincaid felt the call under Mr. Rice's preaching.

there were in Great Britain about five hundred Baptist churches which averaged about a hundred members each, in America there were about two thousand which averaged that number. Furthermore, all the North American Indians and all the native population of South America which was accessible would hardly equal in number the single empire of Burmah.*

On June 27th, 1819, about seven years and four months after Mr. Judson left America, and about six years from his arrival in Burmah, he baptized his first Burman convert, Moung Nan. The next two native converts were Moung Byaa and Moung Thallah. It required great courage on the part of the first convert to come out for Christ. By doing so, he antagonized his ruler, an absolute monarch, who styled himself the "Lord of Life and Death and Owner of the Sword." But Moung Nan declared his determination of adhering to Christ, though no Burman should ever join him. His courage and his beautiful saying—"When I meditate on this religion, I know not what it is to love my own life"—made him famous in America. In 1820 the Burman converts sent this letter to their brethren in America.

Brethren all, who live in America! The brethren who live in Burmah address you.

We inform you, brethren, that, trusting in the grace of the eternal God, the divine Spirit and the excellent Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, we remain happy; and see-

* Life of Adoniram Judson, by his son, Edward Judson, p. 104.

ing our real state and circumstances, we have repentance of soul, and an anticipation of the happiness of heaven.

God, the sum of all perfection, without beginning and without end, subsists through successive ages; and this world, the earth and sky, and all things therein, which He has created, are according as He created them.

God, the Creator is replete with goodness and purity, and is exempt from old age, sickness, death, and annihilation; and thus there is none that can compare with Him.

It is contained in the Scriptures, that God, in his own nature, unites three, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and is (yet) mysteriously one God; that He is in all places, but dwells in heaven, by the clearer manifestation of His glory; that His power and wisdom are unrivalled; and that he enjoys happiness incomprehensible to creatures.

But the Burmans know not the true God; they know not the true religion; they worship a false God; they practice a false religion; and (thus) they transgress the divine law, and sin against the most estimable Benefactor, and therefore they neither expiate their sins nor acquire merit. And by excessively loving themselves and the filth of this world, they love not nor worship the eternal God, nor believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, but regard the good things of this world merely.

That the Burmans, who know not the way to eternal happiness, might become acquainted with it; that they might be renewed; and that they might escape everlasting punishment, the American teachers, Judson and wife, have both come to Burmah and proclaimed the gospel of the Divine Son, the Lord Jesus Christ; on which some Burmans have become disciples. And on these accounts, the disciple Moung Shwa-Ba says that your favor is very great (or he gives you very many thanks).

Those who love divine grace, who believe, who hear and consider the gospel, who trust in the Lord Jesus Christ, who repent of their sins, attain the state of dis-

ciple. And that this religion may spread everywhere, Moung Shwa-Ba is making endeavors, and constantly praying, to proclaim the gospel. And he prays thus: O Eternal God, graciously grant the favor which I desire. Graciously grant that I may have regard to thy divine will, and be conformed thereto. Be pleased to take notice of my supplication, O God. I desire not to seek my own profit; I desire constantly to seek the profit of others. Thou art the Creator of all things, and if thou art pleased to be gracious, O, grant that I may be enabled to promote the good of others. Open thou the eyes of my mind and give me light. And when I shall preach in various places, evermore send forth the divine Spirit that multitudes may become disciples. That thou wilt grant these things, I beseech thee, O God.

The disciple, Moung Shwa-Ba has composed this writing, and committed it to the hand of the teacher; (even) in the Burman year 1182, on the 7th of the waxing of the moon Wah-goung, he has written this, and delivered it to the teacher and his wife.

P. S. Brethren, there are in the country of Burmah nine persons who have become disciples.*

Mrs. Judson's visit to America also served to rekindle the subsiding fires of zeal. Although her first object and most imperative need in coming to this country was to build up her shattered health, the purpose of creating and stimulating interest in foreign missions was not her least. Her courage, devotion and sufferings had already made her a host of friends, and her fascinating presence and firm faith in the cause she represented made her many more. She reached America September 25th, 1822, and remained until the 22nd of June 1823. She

*Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, pp. 179, 180.

was accompanied on her return trip to India by the two newly appointed missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Wade.

In 1824-25, when the war between England and Burmah was raging, the terrible persecution and horrible sufferings endured by Mr. Judson drew to him once again the eyes of the civilized world. For nine months he was confined in three pairs of fetters; for two months in five pairs; for six months in one pair; for two months longer he was a prisoner at large, and was kept under restraint for yet two months more; so that he was a prisoner for twenty-one months. The five pairs of irons which for two months of the time he wore, weighed fourteen pounds, and in each pair of fetters the two iron rings were connected by chains so short that the heel of one foot could hardly be advanced to the toe of the other. He wore the scars of those irons to the day of his death. It is not my purpose to describe his prison, its tortures, or its loathsomeness. The point to which I desire to call attention is, that from henceforth when he pleaded with his brethren in America, he spoke as "a prisoner in chains," and as one "bearing in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Those who can endure to read about its horrors may find a terribly graphic description in his Life, written by his son, pages 217-261. Every one who reads the record of those scenes will see that Mrs. Judson endured no less than he, and will understand how Oung-pen-la and Ava became names to conjure with. Mrs. Judson wrote the story of those terrible days.

There was not a Baptist home in which her vivid recital was not read, and many a heart was stirred with a desire to engage in a service where even such sufferings were possible.*

Not only sufferings, but *death* of missionaries sent their silent pleas across the seas. In 1823 the news came that Ward had died at Serampore. On page 62, volume I, of the "Christian Baptist," there is an article indulging in unstinted ridicule of missionary expense; on the opposite page is the two line announcement of the death of Mr. Ward at Serampore, March 27th, 1823, after an illness of one day. The accidental juxtaposition of the brief announcement to the vitriolic article makes it an eloquent rejoinder. The minutes of the Charleston Association for 1823 record a pathetic lament for the death of Ward. Then the news came that Coleman had died in Aracan, and the cry went up, "Who will go to take his place?" George Dana Boardman, who had graduated at Waterville College in 1822, promptly answered, "I will go." But while he was on the way, Ann Hasseltine Judson, exhausted by the long agony at Ava, died from the effect of the suffering endured by her husband and herself. She was speedily followed by her little Maria. Dr. Boardman arrived just in time to lay the child in a grave beside the mother. The manner of Mrs. Judson's death was most pathetic. Her husband had returned to Ava to try and secure better

* Burrage: History of Baptists of New England, p. 156.

terms from the British government for the conquered rebels who had so tortured him. While he was absent his wife was smitten with a strong fever, and died on October 24th, 1826, in the 37th year of her age. Judson wrote to her mother this description of her death, which he had gathered from the native Christians:

It seems that she was much affected during her last days, and she said but little. She sometimes complained thus: "The teacher* is long in coming; and the new missionaries are long in coming; I must die alone, and leave my little one; but it is the will of God, I acquiesce in His will. I am not afraid of death, but I am afraid I shall not be able to bear these pains. Tell the teacher that the disease was most violent, and I could not write; tell him how I suffered and died; tell him all that you see; and take care of the house and things until he returns." When she was unable to notice anything else, she would still call the child to her, and charge the nurse to be kind to it; and indulge it in everything until its father shall return. The last day or two she lay almost senseless and motionless, on one side, her head reclining on her arm, her eyes closed; and at eight in the evening, with one exclamation of distress in the Burman language, she ceased to breathe.†

They buried her in a lonely spot beneath a hopia tree, with a rude fence about the grave to protect it from the wild beats of the jungle: and thus was the prophecy in the love-letter long ago to the sweet faced Ann Hasseltine brought to a literal fulfillment:

"By foreign hands thy dying eyes were closed;
By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed;
By foreign hands thy humble grave adorned."

---

*So she called Mr. Judson.

†Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson pp. 295, 296.

She died apart from him whom she had given her heart and her girlhood, whose footsteps she had faithfully followed for fourteen years, over land and sea, through trackless jungles and strange, crowded cities, sharing his studies and his privations, illumining his hours of gloom with her beaming presence, and with a heroism and fidelity unparallelled in the annals of missions, soothing the sufferings of his imprisonment. He whom she had thus loved, and who, from his experience of Indian fever, might have been able to avert the fatal stroke, was far away in Ava. No missionary was with her when she died, to speak words of Christian consolation. The Burman converts, like children gathered helplessly and broken-heartedly about their *white mama*. The hands of strangers smoothed her dying pillow and their ears received her last faint wandering utterances. Under such auspices as these, her white-winged spirit took its flight to the brighter scenes of the New Jerusalem.*

In 1829, we find an account of her memoirs being advertised in the Charleston Association. Soon after her death Mr. Judson wrote to the Rev. Mr. Grow, of Thompson, Connecticut, who had sent him fifty dollars:

The fact is, that we are very weak, and have to complain that hitherto we have not been well supported from home. It is most distressing to find when we are almost worn out, and are sinking, one after another, into the grave, that many of our brethren in Christ at home are just as hard and immovable as rocks; just as cold and repulsive as the mountains of ice in the polar seas. But whatever they do, we cannot sit still and see the dear Burmans, flesh and blood like ourselves, and like ourselves possessed of immortal souls, that will shine forever in heaven, or burn

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 290.

forever in hell—we cannot see them go down to perdition without doing our very utmost to save them. And thanks be to God, our labors are not in vain. We have three lovely churches, and about two hundred baptized converts, and some are in glory. A spirit of religious inquiry is extensively spreading throughout the country, and the signs of the times indicate that the great renovation of Burma is drawing near. O, if we had about twenty more versed in the language and means to spread schools, and tracts, and Bibles, to any extent, how happy I should be! But those rocks and those icy mountains have crushed us down for many years. . . . . May God forgive all those who desert us in our extremity. May he save them all. But surely, if any sin will lie with crushing weight on the trembling shrinking soul, when grim death draws near; if any sin will clothe the face of the final judge with an angry frown, withering up the last hope of the condemned, in irremediable, everlasting despair, it is the sin of turning a deaf ear to the plaintive cry of ten millions of immortal beings, who by their darkness and misery, cry, day and night, "COME to our rescue, ye bright sons and daughters of America, COME AND SAVE US, FOR WE ARE SINKING INTO HELL."*

In 1831, Judson is still pleading, still trying to awaken the people of America. The letter that follows was written to a minister in Connecticut; it shows something of the difficulties, progress and encouraging interest in his work.

RANGOON, March 4th, 1831.

The great annual festival has just passed, during which multitudes come from the remotest parts of the country to worship at the great Shway-Da-gong pagoda in this place, where it is believed that several real hairs of Gaudama are enshrined. During the festival I have given away nearly ten

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, pp. 309, 310.

thousand tracts, giving to none but those who ask. I presume there have been six thousand applications at the house; some come two or three months' journey from the borders of Siam and China—"Sir, we hear that there is an eternal hell. We are afraid of it. Do give us a writing that will tell us how to escape it." Others come from the frontiers of Kathay, a hundred miles north of Ava—"Sir, we have seen a writing that tells about an eternal God. Are you the man that gives away such writings? If so, pray give us one, for we want to know the truth before we die." Others come from the interior of the country, where the name of Jesus Christ is a little known—"Are you Jesus Christ's man? Give us a writing that tells about Jesus Christ." Brother Bennett works day and night at the press, but he is unable to supply us, for the call is great at Maulmain and Tavoy, as well as here, and his types are very poor, and he has no efficient help.*

In 1830, Judson was invited to visit America. How mightily would he have stirred the people had he come! But who will say that the heroic refusal of the man "who never saw a ship sail from Maulmain bound for England or America without an almost irrepressible inclination to get on board and visit again the home of his boyhood," was without effect? Or who will affirm that his denial of himself was of no avail over here? He thus describes his heimweh:

I must confess that in meditating on the subject, I have felt almost unconquerable desire to become acquainted with my beloved patrons and correspondents, the members of the Board, as well as to rove once more over the hills and valleys of my own native land, to recognize the still surviving companions of my youth, and to witness the

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 362.

widespread and daily increasing glories of Immanuel's kingdom in that land of liberty, blessed of heaven with temporal and spiritual blessings above all others.*

In June, 1831, Boardman, after being carried in a chair to the waterside to see thirty-four converts baptized, slowly faded away from earth. His faithful wife took up his work and carried it on to success. Eight years after the death of Mrs. Judson and three years after that of Mr. Boardman, Judson married Mrs. Boardman. This match was also made in heaven. She was a faithful helpmate and helpmeet to him, and a blessed co-laborer in the gospel until, on September 1st, 1845, she was buried on the lonely rock of St. Helena. On that Island the remains of the great Napoleon rested in an uninscribed sepulchre; but on her tomb loving hands, after giving her name and services, wrote the epitaph:

"She sleeps sweetly here on this rock of the ocean,
Away from the home of her youth,
And far from the land where, with heartfelt emotion,
She scattered the bright beams of truth."

On October 15th, 1845, Mr. Judson and his three orphaned children arrived in Boston. He was in delicate health and barely able to speak above a whisper, but his reception was an ovation, and his progress a triumphal march. His approach was heralded and his sayings and doings chronicled by both the secular and religious press. In his speeches he did not describe his own adventures nor pander to the

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 365.

idle curiosity of mere sensation hunters. His heart was in Burmah. His plea was for her, his theme was pleasing Jesus by carrying the gospel to every creature. In Boston he met Samuel Nott, Jr., for the first time in thirty-three years. In November he was present at the meeting of the Triennial Convention. He visited many institutions of learning, among them Brown University, his own *Alma Mater*. He was the honored guest at many missionary societies. In a meeting at Richmond, Virginia, in response to a speech of welcome by Dr. Jeter, he made this address to Southern Baptists, who had organized their Convention the year before:

I congratulate the Southern and Southwestern churches on the formation of the Southern Baptist Convention for Foreign Missions. I congratulate the citizens of Richmond that the Board of that Convention is located here. Such an organization should have been formed several years ago. Besides other circumstances, the extent of the country called for a separate organization. I have read with much pleasure the proceedings of the Convention at Augusta, Georgia, and commend the dignified and courteous tone of the address sent forth by that body. I am only an humble missionary of the heathen, and do not aspire to be a teacher of Christians in this enlighted country; but if I may be indulged a remark, I would say, that if hereafter the more violent spirits of the North should persist in the use of irritating language, I hope they will be met, on the part of the South, with dignified silence.*

While in America he married Miss Emily Chubbuck, whose sympathies had been enlisted

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, pp. 475, 475.

in missionary work as a child, by reading a memoir of the first Mrs. Judson. She had attained some reputation in light literature and newspaper articles under the *nom de plume* of "Fanny Forrester." There was opposition to the marriage on the part of both his admirers and hers, but future events showed they had both chosen well. She proved herself a not unworthy successor to Ann Hasseltine and Sarah B. Judson.

On this trip to America, Judson found this country a land of organized societies. The organization of all the missionary societies in America was due, to some extent, to the group of five boys who at Andover Seminary had pledged themselves to the work of carrying the Gospel abroad. Judson's influence was felt in other places than America. He had been deeply desirous of establishing a mission among the Jews in Palestine, but the enterprise had failed.

It, however, pleased an All-wise Providence to render his servant useful to the children of Abraham in a manner which he little expected. Two or three days before he embarked on his last voyage, not a fortnight before his death, Mrs. Judson read to him the following paragraph from the "Watchman and Reflector":

"There (at the house of Mr. Goodell, in Constantinople) we first learned the interesting fact, which was mentioned by Mr. Schauffler, that a tract had been published in Germany, giving some account of Dr. Judson's labors at Ava; that it had fallen into the hands of some Jews, and had been the means of their conversion; that it had reached Trebizond, where a Jew had translated it for the Jews of that place; that it had awakened a deep interest among them; that a candid spirit of inquiry had been manifested;

and that a request had been made for a missionary to be sent to Constantinople. Such a fact is full of meaning, a comment on the word of inspiration: 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; thou knowest not which shall prosper, this or that.'"*

Dr. Jessup, the eminent Presbyterian missionary to Syria, said at a session of the Baptist Convention convened in Saratoga, that the first person whose hand he desired to grasp when he reached heaven, next to the Apostle Paul, would be Adoniram Judson. Many others have been incited and nerved to complete consecration and strenuous missionary effort, at home and abroad, by the example of Adoniram Judson. The published lives, and memoirs of Mr. Judson and the sainted women who labored with him in the Gospel have had a vast influence in silencing opposers and cavillers, and in inspiring the fainthearted, and in increasing the zeal of the lukewarm, and in encouraging his missionary successors to make a success of the work which had been so nobly begun.†

---

*Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, pp. 557, 558.

†I have had access to the following in preparing this sketch of Judson: "The life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson." This I have used most freely and my only regret is that scarcity of time and space have prevented me from making even more copious quotations. Dr. Wayland's "Memors of Rev. Dr. Judson," in two volumes, have also been of great value. The other books consulted were: "The Earnest Man, or Life and Labors of Dr. Judson," by Mrs. H. C. Conant; "The Judson Offering," by John Dowling, D. D.; "The Apostle of Burmah:

Judson's death at sea on April 13th, 1850, after a long illness, and his burial in the sea the same day, rounded out his life's influence, and left it as an ever living, ever working force in that world from which his spirit had flown. The saddest events of his life, his imprisonment, his sufferings, his bereavements, his death ; the events that seemed to clog the wheels of missionary effort in India, became, in the hand of God, the most potent factors for advancing missionary effort in America. We cannot regret the life of Judson. It is still true that it is expedient for one man to die and not for a whole nation to perish. Let a son's tribute to his father close our story of Adoniram Judson.

It is God's law that progress should be along the line of suffering. The world's benefactors have been its sufferers. They "have been from time immemorial crucified and burned." It seems to be a divine law that those who bestow roses must feel thorns.

The sufferings of Mr. Judson's life were as fruitful of blessings as the toils.

---

a Missionary Epic," by Wm. C. Richards; "Memoir of Ann Hasseltine Judson," by D. K. Knowles; "Missionary Memorials," of Ann H. Judson, Sarah B. Judson and Emily C. Judson, by Walter N. Wyeth, D. D., in three separate volumes. The only life of Rice I have been able to obtain is the one by James B. Taylor, published in 1840. I have been dependent for my information on this, and on several sketches in Baptist state histories and on encyclopedic articles. There is at present time in this country no life of Rice on sale by any publisher, Taylor's Memoir having long since gone out of print.

The graves of the sainted dead forbid retreat from the ramparts of heathenism. It is said that the heart of the Scottish hero Bruce was embalmed after his death and preserved in a silver casket. When his descendants were making the last desperate charge upon the serried columns of the Saracens, their leader threw this sacred heart far out into the ranks of the enemy. The Scots charged with irresistible fury in order to regain the relic. Christianity will never retreat from the graves of its dead on heathen shores. England is pressing into Africa with redoubled energy since she saw placed on the pavement of her own Westminster Abbey the marble tablet in memory of him who was brought by faithful hands, over land and sea, David Livingstone, missionary, traveler, philanthropist. Until that day shall come when every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess the name of Jesus, Christian hearts will not cease to draw inspiration from the memory of those who found their last resting place under the hopia-tree at Amherst, on the rocky shore of St. Helena, and beneath the waves of the Indian Ocean.*

Judson's monument shall be :

"Burmah redeemed! the Budh by Christ replaced ;
His proud pagodas ruined and overthrown.
His sun-clad priests to history only known,
And the rude scripts on palm-leaves all effaced."

His influence shall be to make us :

"Mark how he lived and labored, loved and lost ;
His life, loves, labors, losses, all were spent,
From youth to age, with one supreme intent,—
To share with Christ the World's redemption cost."†

---

* Life of Adoniram Judson by his son, Edward Judson, p. 560.

† Richard's "The Apostle of Burmah," pp. 102, 101.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE "HARDSHELLS."

In studying the history of any great movement it is necessary to take a view point. I choose to take my stand in Kentucky in studying the Hardshell split in the Baptist denomination. This State has ever been, in theological as well as profane history, a "dark and bloody ground," the storm center of controversy, the battlefield of jarring religious opinions. Her preachers have ever been men of war from their youth upward. They have been trained in a stern school. "Infidelity," "Deism," "Hell-Redemptionism," "Parkerism," or "Two-Seedism," "Campbellism," "Hardshellism," "Old Landmarkism," "Gospel Missionism," and "Whitsittism," succeeding and overlapping each other, have for a hundred years divided her forces and shorn her of her power. There is scarcely an Association in her borders that has not been riven on one or more of these stones of stumbling and rocks of offence. Not that all of these issues have been born here, or that any of them were confined to this State, but here they were cradled and nurtured. Controversy has always flour-

ished in Kentucky's fruitful soil. It is a place where two seas meet and where the Baptist ship has been like, time and again, to have perished. Here Greek has met Greek with the inevitable tug-of-war. One cannot but mourn when contemplating all the fierce virility wasted in combat when heresy-hunter and heresy-monger have joined in the rigid grip of internecine strife. How terrible the loss of energy when an irresistible force meets an immovable body! When Kentucky's two extremes shall have tempered each other and the fierce fires of battle have been moderated to the warm glow of fraternal love, and all her exhaustless fund of energy shall be directed no longer to the uprooting of "every plant which our heavenly Father hath not planted," but to watering with tears and tending and cultivating with devotion the one he *has planted*, how speedy and magnificent will be its growth. May God hasten that time! But at present our object is to look at the mistakes, the follies and the sins of the past that constitute history.

The leaders against missions have been many. The opposition against missions has been one, in origin, progress, argument, and spirit, although hydra-headed in its various forms of manifestation. It is the purpose of this chapter to ascertain its genesis and trace and demonstrate its unity through its varying forms. Every great movement is to a large extent identified with its leaders. The biographical methodis the true one by which to study history. We therefore present some accounts of the three great leaders in the anti mission cru-

sade, together with an outline of their argument, from which by an inductive process we hope to show the spiritual genealogy of all anti-missionaries, whose number is even at the present day great. The three leaders were John Taylor, of Kentucky; Daniel Parker, of Illinois; and Alexander Campbell, of Virginia.

John Taylor was an earnest, consecrated, self-sacrificing and conscientious minister of the gospel. He was the only real Baptist of the three. No man can read the account of his conversion, or the story of his efforts to evangelize Kentucky for Christ, without feeling that he was a converted and honest man. He was the victim of the prejudices engendered by his lack of education and his early environment. Yet all his good qualities but served to give respectability and force to his opposition to the mission cause. It is pleasant to recall that in his later life he was more in sympathy with the mission movement and less timorous of the bugbear which he had been the first to raise. But, as Dr. Spencer well says: "His pamphlet had gone forth on its pernicious mission, and probably did more to check the cause of missions, in Kentucky, than any other publication of the period."* For a comprehension of the better side of John Taylor, one should read his "History of Ten Churches."

Daniel Parker was contemporary with John Taylor and claims to be the first opponent of the mission system. "It makes me shudder when I think I am the first one (that I have any

* Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, vol. 1, p. 575.

knowledge of) among the thousands of zealous religionists of America, that have ventured to draw the sword against the error, or to shoot at it and spare no arrows."* But it is doubtful if this statement be true. Taylor wrote in 1819, Parker in 1820 and his pamphlet was republished in 1824, at which time it was printed at Lexington, Kentucky, along with another on the same topic and rehashing the same argument, addressed to Maria Creek Church. Parker was a son of John Parker. He was born in Culpepper county, Virginia, reared in Georgia amid extreme poverty and ignorance, baptized in 1802, and licensed shortly after. In 1803 he removed to Trumbull Church in Tennessee, was ordained there in 1806, and moved to southeastern Illinois in 1817. He claims to have traveled through a great many of the States of America. In 1810, an old brother in Tennessee advocated in a crude form the Two-Seed Doctrine. Parker rebuked him for it, but in 1826 set forth in pamphlet an elaboration of the same views.

It is not easy to explain, at least what was meant by Mr. Parker himself, in the phrase "Two-Seed," which in time became so notorious This at least may be said: the teaching represented by it was that form of antinomianism which carried the doctrine of predestination to its utmost extreme.†

STATEMENT OF THE DOCTRINE.

The essence of God is good; the essence of evil is the Devil. Good angels are emanations from or particles of

* Daniel Parker's Address, etc. p. 3.

† H. K. Carroll: Religious Forces, p. 48.

God; evil angels are particles of the Devil. When God created Adam and Eve, they were endowed with an emanation from himself, or particles of God were included in their constitution. They were wholly good. Satan, however, diffused into them particles of his essence by which they were corrupted. In the beginning God had appointed that Eve should bring forth only a certain number of offspring; the same provision applied to each of her daughters. But when the particles of evil essence had been infused by Satan, the conception of Eve and her daughters was increased. They were now required to bear the original number, who were styled the seed of God, and an additional number who were called the seed of the serpent.*

This Two-Seed doctrine is a curious revival, with some modifications of the ancient speculative philosophy of Manichæus. Dr. Newman calls it a "very disgusting form of Gnostic heresy." It is easy to see how such a heresy would cause opposition to missions; for the progeny of one of the seed would constitute the body of Christ, whose salvation is certain; for the other, no salvation is provided. The following quotation is taken from page 11 of a copy of the first minutes of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, organized at Louisville, Friday, October 20th, 1837.

The Anti-missionary spirit owes its origin to the notorious Daniel Parker. He was the first person called Baptist that lent a hand to the Infidel, and Papist in opposing the proclamation of the gospel to every creature, and the trans

---

*H. K. Carroll's "Religious Forces," p. 49. Compare also for fuller statement of this doctrine Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, vol. 1, pp. 576 to 578. The statement as given here is quoted from History of Baptist States east of the Mississippi, by J. A. Smith, D. D.

lation and circulation of the Scriptures in all languages and among all people. Possessing a strong native intellect, and a bold adventurous imagination—with a mind cast in nature's most capacious mold, but for want of cultivation admirably calculated to be the receptacle of notions, the most crude, extravagant and chimerical, he generated an Utopian scheme of theology, the tendency of which was to subvert all practical religion. The grounds of his opposition to missions were—that the devil was an eternal "self-subsistent being" (to use his own phrase); that though God *created* all, yet the devil *begat* a part of mankind; that those begotten of the devil were his bona fide children, and to their father they would and ought to go; and of course sending them the gospel and giving them the Bible were acts of such gross and supreme folly that no Christian should be engaged in them! On the other hand he taught that the remaining portion of the human family were the actual sons of God from eternity, and being allied to Jesus Christ ere "the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy" by the nearest and dearest ties of consanguinity, being no less than 'particles' of his body—bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh, the Redeemer would *nolens volens*, take them to mansions prepared for them in bliss: and hence Mr. Parker very wisely concluded, that if such were the case, the Lord had very little use for the Bible or Missionary Societies. . . . . But there were many who embraced only half the doctrine of Mr. Parker and though they manifested no great apprehension for the liege subjects of the Prince of Darkness, yet they expressed great alarm lest the missionaries should help the Lord to perform his work, and convert the souls of some in a way God never intended they should be. They were such staunch friends of the Lord's doing all his work, that they set upon and terribly assailed their missionary brethren, for fear they should by some means assist the Lord in the salvation of his elect! In their zeal against these ambitious strides of the missionaries, they have occasioned

great disturbance and distress.—and destroying the Peace of Zion, the progress of religion has been greatly retarded, and the influence and usefulness of many ministers and churches utterly paralyzed.

Dr. Carroll, of Texas, in a speech before the Southern Baptist Convention at Hot Springs, Arkansas, in 1900, compared Parker in his violence to a wild boar rooting up the tender plants in a garden. The following description of the person and personality of Daniel Parker was written by Dr. John M. Peck, of Home Mission fame, while Parker was still alive and active:

Mr. Parker is one of those singular and extraordinary beings whom divine Providence permits to arise as a scourge to his church, and a stumbling-block in the way of religious effort. Raised on the frontier of Georgia, (by others he is spoken of as a native of Virginia,) without education, uncouth in manner, slovenly in dress, diminutive in person, unprepossessing in appearance, with shrivelled features and a small, piercing eye, few men for a series of years have exercised a wider influence on the lower and less educated class of frontier people. With a zeal and an enthusiasm bordering on insanity, firmness that amounted to obstinacy, and perseverance that would have done honor to a good cause, Daniel Parker exerted himself to the utmost to induce churches to declare non-fellowship with all Baptists who united themselves with any of the benevolent (or as he called them "new-fangled") societies.

His mind we are told was of a singular and original sort. In doctrine he was antinomian. He believed himself inspired, and so persuaded others. Repeatedly we have heard him when his mind seemed to soar above his own powers, and he would discourse for a few moments on divine attributes or on some devotional subject, with such brilliancy of thought and correctness of language as would astonish men of education and talents. Then again it

would seem as if he were perfectly bewildered in a maze of abstruse subtleties.*

Besides his itineracy among the churches, Parker was a writer, and among other things published for a time a periodical called the "Church Advocate."† How much a person of influence he was is shown by the fact that during four years, from 1822 to 1826, he was a member of the Illinois State Senate. His disastrous career in Illinois and Indiana came to a close in 1833, when he removed to Texas.‡

It is said of Daniel Parker, that at one time in his earlier career he applied for appointment as missionary, and when it was refused him, turned against mission societies and missionary effort of every kind.§ This was true at least of his coadjutor, Wilson Thompson. Just how far Parker was influenced by Taylor cannot be known; but Wilson Thompson, his coadjutor, admits to being greatly influenced by reading Taylor's pamphlet. Recent mission troubles in Texas may possibly be due in part to Parker's labors after reaching that State, although we can discover nothing of his life after he moved to Texas. The Parkerite heresy has not yet died out, for the census bulletin for 1893 reports the membership of this sect in the entire country at 9,932.

---

*J. A. Smith: History of Baptist States East of the Mississippi, p. 123; quoted in Benedict's History of the Baptists.

†Cf. also Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 528.

‡Smith: History of Baptist States East of the Mississippi, p. 125.

§J. A. Smith: History of Baptists States East of the Mississippi, p. 125.

The third and greatest opposer of the mission system was Alexander Campbell. He was the son of Thomas Campbell, a Presbyterian clergyman. Alexander was born in Ireland but educated at the University of Glasgow, in Scotland, for the Presbyterian ministry. The date of his arrival in this country is variously given between 1807 and 1809. September, 1809, is probably the correct date. In 1809 the Christian Association at Washington, Pennsylvania, was organized. Alexander Campbell preached his first sermon before it in 1810. On the 12th day of June, 1812, Alexander Campbell and wife were baptized by Rev. Matthias Luce, as were also his father, mother and sister.

All these arrived at their convictions on the subject of baptism separately and to the mutual surprise of each other. Campbell was received by this baptism into Brush Run Church, which next year, 1813, presented a written creed to Red Stone Baptist Association, and was received into membership with that body. In March, 1811, Campbell married, and in April moved to Buffalo (now Bethany), Virginia. In 1820, he debated with Walker on the subject of baptism. In August, 1823, he began to publish a small religious monthly, called "The Christian Baptist." After making an extensive tour through some of the Western States and finding the anti-mission leaven implanted by Parker and Taylor already at work, he became much more bold in his attacks so that Daniel Parker established "The Church Advocate," a period-

ical similar in size, form and aim to the "Christian Baptist," for the purpose of advocating church sovereignty and exclusiveness, in opposition to benevolent societies in the West. There can be no doubt that in this Parker and Campbell made common cause.

While the chief root of Parker's opposition lay in his heresy, Campbell's lay in the fact that he considered himself a *Reformer*. As he said in his preface, it would do no good to convert heathens to a form of Christianity held by men who themselves needed to be converted to New Testament Christianity. Reformers have never been missionaries, nor the reforming ages periods of missionary activity in the church. This was true of the Roman church. For three hundred years, while the reformers were trying by means of councils to cleanse the church in head and members, there was no missionary activity. Not until after the Reformation, when the Council of Trent had finally put a quietus on the reform movements, did Roman missionary activity begin. The same was true of the Protestant churches. As long as Europe was filled with the jangling of their warring creeds, missionary effort, though feebly attempted a few times, miserably failed. But in the fullness of time when religious opinions had all clarified and crystallized into settled creeds, Cary arose to set the Christian world on fire with missionary enthusiasm. Campbell, then, as a reformer could not readily be a missionary. His mistake lay in supposing the Baptists needed reformation. What they needed was co-operation and mis-

sionary zeal. This, Campbell was not responsible for giving them, except as Judas was responsible for our redemption.

We have then the curious spectacle of the highest antinomianism, represented by Parker and Taylor, and the most extreme Arminianism, represented by Campbell, combined to attack the principles of missions. The one side claimed it to be an infringement of the divine, and the other of church sovereignty. This coalition was greatly successful. Dr. Spencer truly says of Campbell, that he exercised more influence over the Baptists of Kentucky than of any other State, and that while "not the originator of opposition to missions he was its most successful advocate." It is not our purpose to follow Mr. Campbell into all the doctrinal and credal tergiversations into which his reform policy led him. But by attacking and attempting to change the very plan of salvation itself, the only doctrine more vital than that of missions, he finally succeeded in adding another to the already large number of sects in Christendom. His activity in this line was so great and its results are so well known as to obscure his responsibility for the Hardshell split. The truth is, Alexander Campbell was the father of twins, Hardshellism and Campbellism. Hardshellism first gave indication of its appearance, but as in the case of Jacob and Esau, it was supplanted in the womb by its brother, Campbellism. Hardshellism, though longer in taking to itself a local habitation and a name, was the first of the two to disturb the Baptist denomination. But here, as in the case of Parker, many fol-

lowed him in his opposition to missions, who did not join him in his doctrinal vagaries and who were left behind to vex the saints when the believers in his creed, as set forth in the "Christian Baptist" and "Millennial Harbinger," went out from the Baptists to form a new denomination. The denomination he founded has found it necessary in the struggle for existence to discard all his anti-missionary ideas, and to use all the methods he so unsparingly burlesqued. The quotations made from his writings are all from the period while he was still a Baptist, as his influence was largely diminished among them after his secession. But not until the last Hardshell, Gospel Missioner and Retrenching Church and Association has sloughed off from the Missionary Baptists, will the cure be complete.

CHAPTER IV.

OUTLINE OF JOHN TAYLOR'S ARGUMENT AS TAKEN FROM HIS PAMPHLET ("THOUGHTS, ETC."), WRITTEN OCTOBER 27, 1819, WHEN MR. TAYLOR WAS SIXTY-SEVEN YEARS OLD.

"The deadly evil I have in view is under the epithets or appellations of *Missionary Boards*, *Conventions*, *Societies*, *and Theological Schools*, all bearing the appearance of great though affected sanctity, as the mystery of antiquity did in the days of Paul, when the man of sin was in embryo." Such is the way in which Mr. Taylor prefaces his argument.

The first grave charge that Mr. Taylor makes against the missionaries is that they are impelled by the love of money.

(a) About eight or ten years previous, Samuel Mills and a ministerial companion, Schermerhorn, both emanating from the same school with Judson and Rice, while on a missionary tour through Ohio, Kentucky, Tennes-

see, and the Natchez settlement to New Orleans, were induced to go sixty miles out of their way to visit Mr. Taylor, who speaks of them as "respectable looking young men, well-informed, and zealous in the cause in which they are employed.* * * I have no doubt these young men meant friendship to me and to preachers in general."

The two young missionaries were, however, unfortunate enough to arouse Mr. Taylor's prejudices by trying to show him that for a pastor to secure missionary contributions meant an increased liberality all along the line, and *especially in regard to pastoral support.* "They became quite impatient with my indolence, assuring me if I would only stir up the people to missions and Bible society matters, I should find a great change in money affairs in favor of the preachers; urging by questions like this: 'Do you not know that when sponges are once opened they will always run? Only,' said they, 'get the people in the habit of giving their money for any religious use, and they will continue to appropriate for all sacred purposes.'" (p. 6.)

Mr. Taylor comments: "Surely it will not be thought uncharitable to say, that I did begin strongly to smell the *New England Rat.*" Here the prejudice against Yankees begins to show as a factor in the mission problem. This visit of Mills and Schermerhorn seems to have occurred after Judson's ordination and departure, but before the news came that he had been converted to Baptist views.

(b) The next item in the charge is based on the account in Mrs. Judson's letter to the

Board, published in its first report, p. 34, of a poor soldier at the Isle of France, who, although he had a family to support, paid $8.00 a month from his meager income for a room for Mrs. Judson to preach in, and who also on their departure gave the missionaries $20.00. Taylor says of this, "It would look as if her husband had the same taste for money that a horse leech has for blood." Again, on p. 7, he speaks of "Mr. Judson's deep concerted scheme of self-aggrandizement and getting money." Also of Luther Rice he says, "But it was not hard to see, that he was a man of great subtlety, the Savior directed his disciples to similar measures to gain souls to himself; but Luther's object was to get money." (p. 8.) On p. 9 Taylor gives a description of Rice's first appearance and sermon before the Elkhorn Association. "When Luther rose up the assembly of thousands seemed stricken with his appearance. A tall, pale-looking, well-dressed young man, with all the solemn appearance of one who was engaged in the work of the Lord, and perhaps he thought he was. He also being a stranger every eye and ear was open; his text was 'Thy Kingdom Come' He spoke some handsome things about the kingdom of Christ; but every stroke he gave seemed to mean *money*. For my own part I was more amused with his ingenuity than edified by his discourse, and more astonished at his art in the close, than at any other time. He had the more pathos the nearer he came getting the money, and raising his arms, as if he had some awfully pleasing vision, expressed without a hesitating doubt

that the angels were hovering over the assembly, and participating in our heavenly exercise, and just ready to take their leave and, bear the good tidings to heaven of what we were then about, in giving our money for the instruction and the conversion of the poor heathens; and, as if he had power to stop Gabriel's flight, in the most pathetic strain cried, 'Stop, angels, till you have witnessed the generosity of this assembly.' About this time, perhaps twenty men, previously appointed, moved through the assembly with their hats, and near two hundred dollars were collected.—Though I admired the art of this well taught Yankee, yet I considered him a modern Tetzel, and that the Pope's old orator of that name was equally innocent with Luther Rice and his motive about the same. He was to get the money by the sale of indulgences for the use of the Pope and Church. Luther's motive was through sophistry and Yankee art, to get money for the mission, of which he himself was to have a part. Tetzel's great eloquence, and success in getting money, alarmed first Martin Luther, and afterwards the chief of the States in Germany. Our Luther by his measures of cunning in the same art of Tetzel may alarm all the American Baptists."

Taylor claims that Rice refused to preach at Dover Association, Virginia, for Mr. Semple several years later unless a missionary collection were taken up. Semple yielded and the collection was taken.

The Board was accused of being "either weak in judgment or unfaithful in choice, for it

seems not so much the question what is your character or preaching talents as who will go for us—answer our purpose to hoodwink the people and get plenty of money?"

Some of the means for obtaining money are attacked as follows :* "The very many modes, and artful measures of those great men to get money, are disgustful to common modesty. They begin with missionary societies ; then they create a great Board of different officers, and then select the most vigorous and artful agent they can find, to create more societies of differferent grades as Female Societies, Cent Societies, Mite Societies, Children's Societies and even Negro Societies, both free and bond ; besides the sale of books of various kinds, and in some instances the sale of images. Every missionary to a foreign country is authorized to follow all these arts, as well as common begging to get money ; so that no set of men ever yet seen on the earth, manifest a greater thirst by these various modes of peddling to get money.— Their shameful cravings are insatiable." On page 20 he says of Luther Rice, "so that scarce a man who attends Baptist worship at all in Kentucky has not seen Luther Rice or heard of his mighty fame in making merchandise of the people through feigned words, and from the strongest symptoms of covetousness.* A false teacher always loves money."

However, the most serious stricture against Rice is this: "At a meeting of the Board

*Compare Alexander Campbell on this point.

for Kentucky at Silas M. Noel's, soon after the arrival of the young Indians in Kentucky, Luther Rice was present. For the purpose of immediate relief to the agent, who then had the Indians on his hands, a proposition was made for each member to pay in ten dollars. This was designed as an individual thing. Luther was among the first to pay down his ten dollars. Who could have thought when the board at Philadelphia had sent on $500 for the same kind of relief, to find Luther's $10 deducted from it! In how many instances cunning Luther has played this kind of a game, is best known to himself. He seems very far from being one of those wrong headed conscientious kind of fellows who according to Judson's estimation, would soon ruin the missionary cause. It is probable when Luther so generously paid down his ten dollars, that he designed it as a bait by which he might catch several tens, or use it as a trump card, by which he might catch a Jack, which would count one in his game, but expected to receive his ten dollars again, as he did. When the Savior found the disciples fishing he said to them. 'Hereafter you shall catch men.' That Luther Rice would not be willing to catch men in the sense the Savior designated, I will not say; but that he would much rather catch fish (as Peter did) with a piece of money in its mouth, I have no doubt." (pp. 20, 21.)

Briefly commenting on the above, it seems that Brother Taylor has added at least a pound of evil surmise to every ounce of fact! Even according to Taylor's own statement, which he

gives only as hearsay evidence, there is nothing to show that Rice ever got his ten dollars back. Brother Taylor's reference to the "trump card" and the "Jack" will be readily understood by all lovers of the game of "Seven up" or "Old Sledge."

Such references as follow are too numerous to mention all. "I have taken some little notice of the horse-leech. It is said of that creature that it has a forked tongue, with two branches which are called its daughters, with both of which it sucks blood with great vigor. Thus missionaries with many strings to their bow, cry mightily for money. The wicked sons of Eli the priest had a fleshhook with three teeth, by which they made a mighty rake in the caldron while the flesh was boiling. The missionaries have many hooks by which they rake the world for money." He compares them to Judas, "who was also a lover of money;" to the Pharisees, having "a great hard-heartedness respecting a man's old helpless parents or his heirs; but great assiduity to obtain a Corban or gift to missionaries; half the estate is not too much." * * * "Giving much money being the best evidence that a man is a Christian—Heaven is almost secured to them; as also an honorary seat in any of their councils on paying one hundred dollars." In this fashion the changes are rung in every conceivable manner and the missionaries are pictured as greedy money grabbers, grinding the face of the poor while they themselves are living in luxury and ease. It is not necessary now to point out how false and distorted such representations are,

but at that time, coming from a man whom the people knew to be pure in life and character, utterly self-sacrificing and having undergone trials and hardships for Christ's sake that rivaled Paul's list of sufferings, such accusations fell with tremendous and blighting force. One cannot read the story of John Taylor's life and almost apostolic labors without marveling that the old man failed to discover that his whole life had been spent in missionary labor.

The second great point of contention was that the missionary system was contrary to Baptist church government and was hierarchical in its tendencies and design.

(a) It is freely compared with the "mystery of antiquity" and the "man of sin" in embryo.

(b) Mr. Taylor had read an extensive account of Papal Missions, especially the noted Jesuit Mission in Paraguay, and he feared a similar development of the Baptist mission. Judson, in a letter to Rice, published in the third report, p. 164, had urged great caution in sending missionaries to assist him. He desired "men of an amiable, yielding temper, willing to take the lowest place, to be the least of all, for *one wrong-headed, conscientiously obstinate man would ruin us.*"* Taylor seizes on this phrase as showing that Judson had some deep laid plan of domination. He characterizes it as a "deep concerted scheme of self-aggrandizement," a "mercenary plan of Priestcraft." He condemns Judson and Rice for not working with the English Board, "but equality in

* Italics ours.

labour, I apprehend, did not suit those aspiring gentlemen. Nothing short of a large Empire would answer their ambitious views. Therefore Rice receives his furlough, as Judson terms it, to return and seek his fortune among American Baptists, and succeeds, to be sure, far above his most sanguine expectations. . . . . They were the great machine which by him as their agent, was soon brought into action all over the United States. Poor half-witted Baptists, may Luther well say." The associations were supposed to be the instrumentalities by which they were to carry out their scheme. After comparing Luther Rice to Tetzel, as quoted under the first point above, he goes on to say, "Tetzel's operations were when the Pope of Rome and the Mother of Harlots were at their zenith. Luther's (Rice) movements bespeak the Man of Sin or men of sin in embryo; and Baptist associations too soon become the adopted daughters of the old Mother of Harlots. Money and power were the signs of the times when the mystery of iniquity began to work in the days of Paul. The same principle is plainly seen in the great Board of Missions in America, and Rice, their chief cook, as also in their mighty convention. . . Money and power are the two principal members of the old beast. That both these limbs are found in this young beast is obvious, and exemplified in the great solicitude of correspondence with all the Baptist associations. Power is acquired by connection with a hundred associations, a fine nest egg of gold to answer their future ambition."

"I consider these great men are verging close on an aristocracy, with an object to sap the foundation of Baptist republican government. The highest court Christ has fixed on earth, is a worshipping congregation called a church."*

On page 15, commenting on the efforts of the home missionaries to establish churches. he says: "Why this mighty solicitude in these men to constitute churches? The motive is obvious. In the first place, there will be fine tales to write to the great board; and secondly, every church thus set up by themselves will be under their own immediate control." Again, scoring Judson, on page 17, "In Rangoon, the pupils have correspondence with the greatest men in the nation, the king not excepted; so that in future, should some wrong-headed, conscience-bound fellow ruin the missionary affairs in Burmah, Mr. Judson may fill some high office in the kingdom, and be a favorite in the king's palace." "Money and power is the watchword of the whole scheme; aiming at Lordship over God's heritage." . . . . "The tenor of the several associations agreeing to correspond with each other gives them a free hold all over the United States where Baptists are found; and that it is not unreasonable to ask their vassals for money wherever they find them."

The missionaries are accused of presumption verging on blasphemy in giving God a new

* Thoughts, etc., pp. 9, 10.

name or epithet, that is, "*The God of Missions.*"* The apostles also they style missionaries, "which favorite terms of theirs (missionary) is borrowed from Old Mother Rome. And as they are beholden to the Mother of Harlots for this handsome phrase, it is to be hoped that our missionaries will acknowledge their own old mother, and the Jesuits of the same race as their brethren." Another charge on this line is that by their money basis of representation the unconverted might gain control of the Boards. Other objections, such as opposition to the Board on account of its connection with theological education, will be noticed later.

Such fears of a Baptist Papacy or extra-ecclesiastical form of government seem almost childish to us, although they are still urged in some quarters; but persecution of Baptists had only ceased in Massachusetts the year previous, and was still endured in Connecticut. These alarms came from a man who had himself been mobbed and driven from his preaching places by persecution, who had crossed the Alleghanies into a virgin wilderness to escape from the persecutions in the coast States. They were addressed to the people who had seen and heard Baptist preachers preach from jail windows in Virginia. Their fears and their ignorance formed a fertile soil for prejudices which were thus skillfully excited. Such arguments, such seed in such a soil, could not fail to bear an abundant harvest.

* * * * * * * *

* Thoughts, etc., p. 29.

CHAPTER V.

OUTLINE OF DANIEL PARKER'S ATTACK ON THE MISSIONARY SYSTEM.

In his introduction he speaks as follows: "It is evident that great talents have been engaged and much time and money spent to vindicate the mission plan, and as yet but little said or done against it. It makes me shudder when I think I am the first one (that I have any knowledge of,) among the thousands of zealous religions * of America that have ventured to draw the sword against the error, or to shoot at it and spare no arrows; and more particularly when I know that I lack that qualification that is pleasing to the Spirit of the world, for I have no education but to read, and have no knowledge of the English grammar only as my Bible has taught me; but all the apology I shall make for my grammatical errors are, that God has chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise—therefore I will venture."

* He doubtless means "religionists."

In laying the foundation for this attack, Parker says: "I have observed four things that cannot be denied:—

"1. The errors which have flowed from the misled zeal, and from under the cloak of religion, are almost innumerable.

"2. These errors have nearly all originated amongst the wise and learned.

"3. They are more generally supported by arguments drawn from the wisdom of the world, than the authority of the Bible.

"4. That when the Scriptures are introduced as evidence, they are sure to be drawn in more to answer the plan of man's invention, than give the true meaning of God's word. . . . I make these remarks to lead our minds to the subject in hand which is 'the principles and practice of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions.'"

"* * * In order to be well understood, I shall undertake the subject in the following manner:

"1. To remove the prejudices that has arose against us who oppose the mission system.

"2. To show what we stand opposed to, and what we are willing to do.

"3. To understand what the Baptist Board intends to do, from the face of their constitution, and prove it by their doctrine and practice.

"4. Examine the principle evidences they introduce for its support.

"5. Try the principle and practice of the Board in sending out preachers, by the principle and practice of Christ and his apostles.

"6. Point out some of the particular evils that I view in the mission plan.

"7. And lastly, take a small view of the whole."

In his discussion of proposition 1, Parker claims that prejudice has been exhibited and excited against the opposers of the mission system by "the following accusations:—

(1) That we are opposed to the spread of the gospel among the heathen. To this I answer, we are pleased with the spread and growth of Immanuel's kingdom throughout the world. But we wish it under his direction and government, and crown him with the glory which we believe is not the case in the mission plan. * * *

(2) We are charged with opposing the translation of the Scriptures and the education of the heathen. To this I answer the charge is incorrect, for we oppose neither; but will help it with heart and hand if it could be taken in a proper manner, and take the evils from it.

(3) We are charged with holding a tyrannical principle, inasmuch as we are not reconciled to our brethren in their giving their money to the mission system, and the argument is that they have a right to do what they please with their own . . . etc. To this I answer . . bestowing money to the needy is a good work etc., but as to a professor being at liberty to do what he pleases with his own in all cases, without being accountable to the church, is a very absurd idea. I ask would you be willing that your brethren should gamble on his money, . . . or give it to a priest to forgive his sins, or to the worship of idols. . . ; just so if the mission system be an evil, and God has never required it at

your hands to give the blessings he has bestowed on you to support an unscriptural plan, that is repugnant to his gospel government. Then we are no tyrants, but have a right to deal with you as violators of the government of Christ."

In a fourth division under this clause he defends some action of the Wabash Association of Illinois, to which he belonged, made on above lines in opposition to the Board previous to the date at which he writes (1820). An account of this action I was not able to obtain, but a protest by the church at Lamott, Crawford County, Illinois, evidently written by Parker and others to the same Association in 1823, would indicate a change of sentiment in favor of missions even in that Association.

It is not the purpose of the writer of this sketch to attempt to answer the various arguments presented. All he desires to do is to faithfully and fairly represent them. Eighty years of Baptist history constitute their answer. It is well to note, however, that neither here nor elsewhere is an *avowed* and undisguised attack made on missions *per se*. This will be further shown by taking up the second point in his proposition, which is in his language, "to show what part of the mission object we oppose, and what part we are willing to support."

"We stand opposed to the mission plan in every point and part where it interferes with or is connected with the ministry, either in depending on the church to give them a call, or seminaries of learning to qualify them to preach, or an established fund for the preacher to look

back upon as a support, and when the Board assumes authority to appoint the fields of their labor, we believe they sin in attempting a work that alone belongs to the Divine Being . . . . . the object of the missionary societies in respect to the ministry we are opposed to in every point."

Just here in this deeply-seated objection to seminaries etc., we find two things: first, the real root of the anti-mission spirit; and second, the reason for the terrible power and blighting effect of this spirit in the frontier and southern States as contrasted with its abortive efforts and speedy death in the New England States.

Parker here briefly shows *what they are willing to do*, as follows:—"As to the extravagant plan of translating the Bible and civilizing the Indians, we could bear with it, *if it was not under the sacred name of religion*; but we believe as paper, types, and the labor of man all cost money, and belong to the things of nature, that *it should be conducted under the direction of moral government and not at the expense of religion*. And as to educating the heathen we think it very improper, for to establish missionary families securing the rights of flocks and herds, farms and inc mes, all under the color of religion. It seems like making the sacred character of religion no greater than the merchandise of this world, and putting it in a long line of trade and traffic, *when the colonization of the heathens ought to be conducted under the direction of our civil government*, or a society formed for that express purpose, not under the character of any society of religion whatever. But

we rejoice in all good that is done in translating the Bible, or educating the heathens and are willing to give our aid in counsel or money, provided it can be done and not dishonor the cause of religion."

This is truly a curious plan to come from a Baptist hater of civil interference with things ecclesiastical, whose whole mind is dominated by a fear lest the Baptist Board should destroy the democracy of church government, as is shown by his third proposition, which is to deduce the plans of the Baptist Board from their constitution, doctrine and practice. His charge is, that the Board purposes to govern the ministry. He admits they expressly disclaim and deny this, but proposes to prove it by the following considerations:

(1) "The exalted title they are pleased to be known by, which is the *Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States of America.*

(a) This evidently proves they claim the government of the ministry and consequently arrests the government and authority Christ gave his church.

(b) This he claims to be an unauthorized use of the Baptist name and authority.

(c) The Board presumes to further qualify their missionaries,

(d) And to fix the field of their labor and the amount of their compensation.

"I ask who has the right to appoint the fields of the labors of the preacher? Certainly the authority that has employed him. Well, then, the Board acts consistent with their principle, for they have employed preachers and sent them

out, and pay them for their labors, and to the Rev. Luther Rice as high as $8.00 a week, besides his traveling expenses."*

The Board holds education essential to the gospel ministry; "they have resolved to divide America into three sections, and two men in each district appointed to receive contributions and to attend the business under the control of the Board * * * the Baptist Board has urged us to form auxiliary societies. What is this great exertion for? It is to give pious young men education to qualify them to preach. This pointedly proves their principle is not only to educate preachers, but hold the government of the ministry in their own hands.

"They prove to us by their writings that it is the business of the churches to impress on the minds of their pious young men to preach the gospel or call them to the work; although they *say in one place it is the Holy Ghost that makes us able members of the New Testament.*"† He quotes a number of passages from the "Latter Day Luminary," supposed to prove his charge that missionaries deem it the business of the church to call or send forth preachers, which Parker considers an usurpation of a work God has "reserved to himself . . . and will fulfill it in his own time and way."

---

*Think of it, ye "Retrenchers," this blood-sucker got $8.00 a week. Think of it, ye timorous brethren, who are disposed to listen to the "Retrenchers" cry, Luther Rice was condemned for receiving a salary of $33.00 a month, the highest salary htat was paid.

†Italics ours.

In his discussion of the fourth point, which is an examination of the most common evidences introduced to support the mission plan. Parker says there are three points to be observed:

1. The Scripture they introduce to justify them in qualifying, sending out and supporting the missionaries."

The case of Jonah; "This is the first account of an Hebrew teacher being sent to the Gentiles; this text is intended to justify the missionary society in sending out preachers . . . We find this was a special act of God in sending Jonah to Nineveh, and that not by or through a missionary society, and stands a very pointed evidence in my favor, and against themselves, unless the mission society will say they are acting as God, in sending out preachers, and I hope this they will not say. Notice Jonah was not sent to a seminary of learning to prepare him to preach to these Gentiles; but was under the tuition and special order of his God, and was in no case under the order or direction of any body of men whatever; neither did he look back to a society formed to raise money for his support."

The other passages of Scripture Parker discusses are, God's promise to Abraham that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed; the great commission; the command of the Holy Spirit from the thirteenth Acts, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul," etc., in all of which he only reiterates his plea that they cannot apply to a society or seminary of learning.

He then takes up the question whether the twenty-second chapter of II. Kings and the

twenty-fourth and thirty-fourth chapters of II. Chronicles justify the collecting of money for missionary purposes. The substance of his argument is, "Those collections of money were for the express purpose of repairing the temple, and could not tolerate us further than public collections for building meeting houses." After a brief objection to the title of *President* and the effort to justify it by the Book of Daniel, he passes to his fifth arraignment, "which is to try the principle and practice of the Board in sending out preachers, by the principle and practice of Christ and his apostles." Here he reaches the bed rock of Simon-pure, original Hardshellism. "My object is to show that the principle and practice of the mission system is according to the spirit of this world, and not according to the spirit of the gospel, . . . The mission advocates say their principle is good, because it is to send the gospel to the heathens, and by that means have heirs of glory begotten: just so I might say, my neighbor or friend is very wealthy and wants an heir very bad, and I viewing his wealth, and how happy his heir would be, join with his anxiety to divide his happiness with his heir. Would it not be a good principle to wish he had an heir? Yes; but a most horrid act for me to attempt to become the father. Just so we all agree the object is good, and we can truly say, "Oh, that the heathen were all saints." But for us to step in the place of God to send means to accomplish the birth of these heirs must be horrid and wicked.

"I have thought their zeal like old Sarah's was when the Lord had promised the birth of an heir. She became so restless and was so anxious, that she could not wait for the Lord to bring it about agreeable to his own purpose, but must give her handmaid to her husband. But still, notwithstanding all it was an Ishmaelite, and was not the heir as God designed. Just so," etc.

He also refers to Uzza's reaching forth the arm of flesh to steady the ark of the Lord, and to Nadab's and Abihu's offering strange fire on the altar of the Lord, etc. "Notice the mission society do not require a call to the work, only gifts and graces, and what sort them are we must guess at. But Christ, when he was about to send out preachers, he called them, whether they had learning or not, and gives us no account that a Seminary of learning was essential to the ministry: and old Paul tells us when it pleased God to call him, he conferred not with flesh and blood and that he never sought it of man, . . . and the Bible tells us if any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God. And Paul brings to view our calling, by telling us, we see our calling, brethren, that not many wise, not many noble after the flesh are called. Let me observe here, I have thought the mission system is about to give old Paul the dodge here, for it seems that if they are not wise and noble when they are called, they intend to make them wise and noble before they send them out. . . .

"Preachers have no right to look back where they came from, for there is no account that

the gospel ministers are supported from behind,—for Paul calls it robbery, and confesses himself guilty of robbing other churches and taking wages from them to do service to the Corinthian Church, and asks forgiveness for that wrong. We must say that wherever a preacher labors is the place for him to claim his support, and he has no scriptural authority to look anywhere else. . . The poor is relieved as an act of charity and the preachers supported as their just due."

Parker remarks on missionary *zeal* as follows: "If great and warm zeal is to justify the principle, then surely the worshippers of Juggernot will claim the preference, while the Mohammedans may lay in their plea, and the persecutors of the church of Christ have much to hope, ... I wish the mission friends to know that all their zeal, their prayers, their answers to their prayers, and their foregoing all the conflicts of life, even if they give themselves a sacrifice to the mission system, it will never justify the principle or practice unless they have thus saith the word of the Lord for it. For, we are commanded not to be wise above that which is written. We have to acknowledge that the gospel has been conducted, directed and supported for nearly 1800 years without such a plan as the board has prescribed."

Right here by the use of a striking illustration Parker gives the one intimation of his own idea as to how the gospel should be spread abroad. "I keep thinking of a little anecdote that I once heard. A very homely lady under-

took to dress herself before the glass and make herself look handsome; but let her turn herself or her dress as she would, the glass was true and would show her ugly features until she was very much enraged and to vent her spite struck a fatal blow at the innocent glass and broke it in pieces and scattered it over the whole house, which made the matter still worse, for then go where she would in the house there was some piece of glass which would still show her ugly features. This, I have thought, most beautifully brings to my view the situation of the saints after the day of Pentecost, when they were embodied together and as a glass all the devil could do in his dissimulations and coming near the gospel light and beauty, by his dressing error as finely as he could. Yet the saints as the glass through which the gospel light did shine and disclose the ugly features of error. The devil got mad, struck the fatal blow through the Pagan persecution, scattered the disciples of Christ through a great many parts of the then known world, and the same may be said by every persecution ever since; but blessed be God there is in a great many parts of the world, and even in what we may call the wilderness and frontiers of America, parts of that true glass that will show Satan's ugly features, let him come in whatever shape he pleases, and even if it is among the Baptists, the true church of Christ. And I would as soon think that somehow like this the gospel will get to all nations as anyhow else, as God generally breaks the devil's head with his own weapon."

Under the sixth head or particular objections to the principles and practice of the Board, he says: "My object on this point is to show the moral evil that I see in the mission system, and where it causes our brethren to sin, which is the reason we can have no fellowship with them in the mission spirit, and lays us under the heart-rending necessity of denying fellowship with them, while engaged in it."

1st Objection. "It has neither precept nor example to justify it within the two lids of the Bible."

2nd Objection. The "board . . . . . have rebelled against the king of Zion, violated the government of the gospel church and forfeited their right to the union and brought distress on the church of Christ."

"(1) They have rebelled against the king of Zion, inasmuch as they have assumed an authority that Christ has reserved alone to himself.

"(2) They have violated the right of government of the church of Christ in forming themselves into a body and acting without the authority of the union.

"(3) They have forfeited their right to the union by departing from the gospel plan and the common, constant and constitutional faith and practice of the Baptist Church."* Well, if the authority of government is in the Church, and the mission society act without it, then they are evidently in disorder and consequently

*It is worthy of note that Parker in common with others of these early writers gives no intimation that the historical continuity of the Baptists is doubted among them.

their work is in disorder. The preachers they send, the members they baptize and the churches they constitute, are all in a state of disorder. . . . They have violated our government and thereby forfeited their right to the Baptist union. . . . Our brethren have left us, we have not left them, therefore we claim the constitutional grounds, *and in such cases the minority can exclude the majority.*"

3rd Objection. "The mission society applies under the character of religion to the enemies of Christ for help, and therefore casts contempt on his dignity. . . Members of these (auxiliary) societies obtain their seats and authority here by paying their money; and wicked men here have as great a right as any other by paying their money, and when my money gives me a seat in a religious council, then I say money is the cause of my fellowship."

4th Objection. "The mission spirit does not appear from my view like the spirit of Christ. It looks like that abomination spoken of by Daniel the Prophet standing in the holy place; this holy place spoken of or where it ought not to be is evidently the church of Christ. . Alas! alas! has the time come when the spirit that moved in the council at the rise of the Popish dominion, that gave education a seat in religion, and made it essential to the ministry, has it now got possession of the hearts of some of our dear Baptist brethren—will it prevail? O, no! for I verily believe it is one of the flood-gates of hell, and our blessed Lord has said it shall not prevail against his church."

This is practically the conclusion of his argument, although he animadverts with great vehemence against those "would-be philanthropists" who, while holding Negroes under their own "despotic yoke," send the "products of their labor" to be "lavishly squandered in support of missionaries sent to foreign countries seeking opportunities of converting foreign barbarians." In short, he works the heathen-at-home plea for all it is worth.

The seventh point is merely a recapitulation of the arguments previously made. He places (after the manner of old men) the golden age of Baptists about "thirty or forty years ago," and laments that it is now scarcely possible to distinguish preachers from lawyers, when you meet them at the court house. He says, in conclusion, "My mind is yet fruitful, but I must close. . . Remember we are told the love of money is the root of all evil, and to charge them that are rich in this world not to be high-minded; and I hope you will take particular notice and don't forget that when Christ found in the temple them that sold oxen and sheep and doves, and them that attended to the table of money changing, that he made a scourge of small chords, and drove them out, and overthrew the table, and charged them of making his father's house a house of merchandise, or a den of thieves. And we have no account that Christ has ever authorized the table of money changing to be set up in his spiritual temple, and we think he will not, as he overthrew it himself; and I hope you will not think hard if Christ should with his scourge of small chords, that

he has still left in his temple, drive out all such characters, and overthrow the table. So I hope you will trade no more on sheep and oxen, but consider what I say, and may the Lord give thee understanding in all things."

Clark County, Illinois, 1820.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL'S ATTACK ON MISSIONS.

I. PLAN OF ATTACK.

1. Like his predecessors in opposing missions, Campbell does not attack missions *per se*, but only the mission plan or method.

(a) ". . as some objects are manifestly good, and the means attempted for their accomplishment manifestly evil, speaking against the means employed, we may be sometimes understood as opposing the object abstractly, especially by those who do not wish to understand, but rather to misrepresent. For instance, that the conversion of the heathen to the Christian religion is an object manifestly good, all Christian will acknowledge; yet every one acquainted with the history of the means employed, and of the success attendant on the means, must know that these means have not been blessed; and every intelligent Christian must know that many of the means employed have been manifestly evil. Besides to convert the heathen to the popular Christianity of these times would

be an object of no great consequence, as the popular Christians themselves, for the most part require to be converted to the Christianity of the New Testament."*

(b) ". . . as to the missionary plans, I am constrained to differ from many whom I love and esteem . . . at the same time I am very sorry to think that any man should suppose that I am either regardless of the deplorable condition of the heathen world, or opposed to any means authorized by the New Testament for either the civilization or salvation of those infatuated pagans. But, my dear sir, how can I, with the New Testament before my face, approve the Catholic, the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, etc., missionary schemes. Are they not evidently mere sectarian speculations, for enlarging their sects, and finding appointment for their supernumerary clergy? Look again at the sums of money squandered at home and abroad under the pretext of converting the world; and again wherein is the heathen world benefited by such conversion? Is the hand of the Lord in this business? Does he work at it as in days of yore? Look at our own country—our Indian neighbors and our African bondmen. Are not these, equally, as the Japanese or Burmans, objects worthy of our sympathy and regard? I do not oppose, intentionally, at least, the scriptural plan of converting the world. My opponents . . . do rank me as opposing the means of converting the world, not wishing to

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1 (2nd edition), Preface, pages ix and x.

discriminate in my case, at least, between persons opposing the abuses of a good cause, and the cause itself. I did contribute my mite and my efforts to the popular missionary cause, until my conscience forbade me from an acquaintance with the abuses of the principle." *

(c) After quoting from Buck's Theological Dictionary, Vol. 1, p. 147, an account of the zeal, earnestness, methods and successes of the Roman Catholics, especially the Jesuits, Campbell says: "We all, who call ourselves Protestants, hesitate not to say, that these missionaries, notwithstanding their zeal, their privations, and their sufferings in the missionary cause, left the heathen no better than they found them; nay, in some instances, they left them much worse . . It may be worthy of the serious consideration of many of the zealous advocates of the various sectarian missions in our day, whether in a few years, the same things may not be said of their favorite projects which they themselves affirm of the Catholic missions and missionaries. They should also remember that it was once as unpopular and as *impious* to speak against the missionary undertakings of the 'Mother Church' as it can possibly be now to even call in question the schemes of any of her daughters. It might not be amiss also to consider, that a Dominican on Jesuit *did* appeal to the privations and sufferings of their missionaries as a proof of their sincerity and

---

* Christian Baptist, Vol. 1 (2nd edition), p. 208.

piety, and to their great success, as a proof that the Lord of Hosts was with them."*

2. These attacks on methods include attacks on Associations, Conventions, Auxiliary Societies and every form of organized work.

(a) Campbell sometimes makes a half-hearted defense of Associations, e. g., "Christian Baptist," Vol. 5, p. 189. In this he seems to almost hold the Baptist view.

(b) He strongly commends the Boone Creek Association of Kentucky for abolishing its constitution in 1828. Its powers were to be limited to a voluntary meeting for the worship of God and the voluntary communication of "the state of religion amongst us by letter and messenger." §

(c) He prints an attack on Baptist Associations by one subscribing himself "A Lover of Truth," who says, "it is well known that Baptist Associations exist. The plain, simple question is, are they authorized in the Bible?" After discussing passages of Scripture quoted in favor of Associations, he asks, "in all this where do we find the least feature of a Baptist Association? Truly there is no resemblance." He claims that a proper idea of the church leaves no place for an Association. To Campbell he concludes: "You have not put forth one argument in this field of controversy (strictures against Presbyteries, Synods, etc.) which will not apply in all their pointed denunciations against Baptist Associations."

---

* Christian Baptist, Vol. 1 (2nd edition), p. 38.

† Christian Baptist, Vol. 6, p. 120.

(d) As to his views on Conventions, the following editorial on "A Circular Letter" will give it with sufficient definiteness:

A CIRCULAR LETTER

Appeared in the "Columbian Star" of June 19th, addressed to every Baptist Church in Massachusetts, and signed by Thomas Baldwin, Lucius Boles, N. W. Williams, Jonathan Going, F. Wayland, jun. recommending as "a good work" the formation of a state convention, to be entitled, "The Baptist Convention of the State of Massachusetts." As an inducement to the Churches in Massachusetts to form such a convention, they are told that similar conventions "are formed and forming" in Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, New Hampshire, and New York, besides in several of the southern states.

Provided three associations concur in the constitution recommended and in the measure as a whole, the first meeting is to take place in Boston the last Wednesday in October next. It is also proposed under the 10th article of this constitution, that "whenever a general convention formed from state conventions throughout the United States shall be formed or designed, it shall be in the power of this convention to send delegates to such conventions and to instruct them to enter into any arrangements to promote the interests of religion," etc.

The Baptist churches send three or four delegates or representatives to the associations. The associations are, according to this constitution, to send one delegate for every five churches to the state convention, and the state convention is to send delegates on some ratio to the general assembly or convention.

And so we Baptists are to march forth in solid phalanx, "terrible as an army with banners." I would propose an amendment to this plan. I dislike tautology and monotony, and would, instead of so many kinds of conventions, *move* that the names of those highly useful meetings be changed as follows:

Those councils that are sometimes called churches, let them be called *church sessions*. Let the associations be called *presbyteries*; the state conventions, *synods;* the general convention, let it be called *the general assembly of the Baptist Church of the United States*. Let there be a fund attached to this establishment called the *delegate's fund;* and let it be enjoined at the first meeting of the general convention or the general assembly, that every minister shall dedicate to the Lord every male and female child, born of baptized parents, at any convenient time within forty days after its birth; and let this *rite* be called *spiritual baptism adapted to infants;* provided always that the parents are willing to bring their infants to the church to the parson to bless them; and that the parson's hand which shall be laid upon their head shall be duly *dry* at the time of the imposition.

Under this arrangement and modification, I think we shall be the most popular and powerful party in the Union; and as for being orthodox, there can be no doubt upon that subject, seeing we shall have the concurrence of the Presbyterian and Congregational brethren, who will assuredly send us annually a few delegates, indicative of their great good will and high approbation of our charity, liberality and *soundness* in the faith. I hope we Baptists in the western states will have no conscientious scruples on the propriety of this "*motion*" nor even call into question the "*scripturality*" of such a scheme, seeing the New England states and those in the south have said, "*Go forward! Keep not back!*" And especially as Jethro in the wilderness advised Moses to appoint captains over tens, captains over fifties, captains over hundreds, and captains over thousands. All of which is respectfully submitted to our brethren in the East and West by

THE EDITOR. *

(e) All the vials of his scorn are poured out on some of the devices used to collect missionary

* Christian Baptist, Vol. 1 (2nd edition.) pp. 229, 230.

money, such as missionary wheels, stalls, and boxes, rag societies, cent societies, etc.

SURELY there can be no human employment in which so much ingenuity and fertility of invention are displayed, as the business of sponging the public of their money for missionary purposes. The pittance earned by the sweat of the brow is wrenched from the poor, the harmless rattle, snatched from the hand of the infant—the food arrested on its passage to the mouth of the hungry, the sick are deprived of their restoratives; and the little enjoyments that would serve to eke out the remnant of existence in tolerable ease, are taken from those who are borne down by the weight of years. But this is not enough: it is not sufficient that all classes in society, from the highest to the lowest, should contribute to support the missionary in his luxury, and to dress out the missionary's wife in her extravagance; but the very birds of the air are to be rendered subservient to these worse than useless purposes. The few berries provided for their support by Him, without whose knowledge not a sparrow falleth to the ground, are to be added to the mass of plunder accumulated for the *ostensible* purpose of "educating the heathen child" but which is *really* applied to disseminate the most unreasonable and unnatural sectarian opinions, and to support many a worthless person who might be better employed in trailing a wheelbarrow through our streets, or in sweeping our chimneys. *A Missionary Stall!* Some old woman to be employed to retail split open melons, and plums and cherries which the *birds carry off!* Contemptible artifices! is it possible that the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe, who rides upon the storm and the whirlwind, and holds the mighty waters in the hollow of his hand, can have condescended to stake the eternal happiness or misery of his creatures upon such paltry contrivances: the very thought is sacreligious.

*Reformer.**

---

* Christian Baptist, Vol. 1 (2nd ed.) pp. 61, 62.

3. He affects to see in all these missionary efforts dangers to the New Testament form of church government and tendencies to priestly power and corruption.

(a) His comparison of methods of the Protestant missionary societies with those of Catholic missions (Compare 1, [c,] *supra*) shows this.

(b) "We have long considered," says he, "the various societies called Missionary, Bible, Sunday-School and Tract Societies, as great religious engines, fitted and designed for the predominance of the leading sectaries who set themselves agoing, and ultimately tending to a *national creed* and a religious establishment."

(c) These attacks on the mission system are combined with his attacks on "the clergy," "the priesthood," including in these terms all ministers except such as have adopted his ideas, "textuaries," etc. His work abounds in slurs representing the missionaries as grasping at money and power.

(d) His comments on "A Circular Letter" (given under 2, [d] *supra*) show how he shakes the Romish scarecrow.

II. POINTS OF ATTACK.

Alexander Campbell attacks foreign missions by attacking those interests which he sees to be inseparably connected with that cause.

1. Ministerial Education. Although Campbell himself lectured in a Bible College in the

closing years of his life,* and although his paper is devoted to giving theological instruction in his own credal ideas, he also raises the hue and cry against Seminaries and Ministerial Education.

(a) TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINE YOUNG CLERGYMEN ON THE WHEEL!

The Pittsburg Recorder of November 6th, informs us that fifty-four Presbyteries of the General Assembly, reported at their last meeting *One Hundred and Thirty-two Beneficiaries;* that is, poor, pious youth of talents, educated or assisted in obtaining an education by alms of the munificent devotees of the church. It also informs us that the Philadelphia Education Society which holds its annual meeting in the city of New York, existing for five years, is the most powerful institution of the kind in the United States, excepting the American Education Society. Now the Luminary of July last informs us, that at the fifth anniversary of this Society, one hundred and three young men were reported on its list of beneficiaries. The aggregate of the poor pious Presbyterian beneficiaries is TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINE.

What a blessed prospect opens to *this* Zion! Thanks to Mammon for his pious aid to the cause of Heaven! He has come up to the help of the Lord against the Mighty! O, ye mines of silver! Ye are the streams that make glad the city of our King! Flow on, ye fountains of pure metal! Ye veins of grace! Ye mines of salvation! Still continue to gladden the hearts of the poor! Ye can raise them from the dung-hill and set them among princes, even the Priests of Pharaoh! Hail, Zion! thy millennial glory dawns! *Blow ye the trumpet, blow!* Say unto Zion, TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-NINE YOUNG PRIESTS COME! Yes,

*One of my church members used to attend these lectures.

they come, meek and lowly, riding upon the alms of the people, the colt of the asses of Judah. Yes, and TWO HUNDRED MORE MIGHTY MEN, riding in chariots, come to thine aid! O Zion! thy Mammon is thy glory!!!

EDITOR.*

(b) The following is taken from his "Review of a Sermon," preached by the Rev. Gideon Blackburn, D. D.:

His sermon is intended to *proclaim* that it is the duty of the church to prepare in her bosom *pious youths* for the gospel ministry. Now this is really a *new message* from the skies, for there is not one word from Genesis to John, which saith that it is the duty of a church to prepare pious youth for the gospel ministry. This point could not be proven from the words of any previous embassador and it is unnecessary for an embassador to prove his own communications to be true. But now this reverend embassador informs the world that it is the duty of the church to train young men for the gospel ministry, and of these young men to make presbyters or elders.

His text, to have been pertinent to his purpose, ought to have read, "When Jesus was ascended to his throne, he gave apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers supernaturally qualified for the work, and in a moment prepared to discharge the duties of their calling—and then gave orders to the churches to train up young men artificially and mechanically, to be their successors in the manner hereinafter specified." This text would have suited his subject . . . . †

(c) The following query and answer is also in point:

DID God ever call a man to any work for which he was not fully qualified, and in the performance of which he was not successful?

---

*Christian Baptist, second edition, vol. 1, pp. 98.

†Christian Baptist, second edition, Vol. 2, pp. 328, 329.

ANS.—No, if we except the modern preachers at home, and those called missionaries abroad. They say they are *specially called*, but neither their qualifications nor their success warrant the belief of these professions. With an open Bible in my hand, I must say that God never called a man to any work for which he was not fully qualified and in the performance of which he was not successful.*

(d) After reciting facts given by the American Education Society to show the necessity of education, he says:

How very different the course recommended by the Recorder to enlighten the world, and that recommended by the Saviour and his apostles. The scheme of a learned priesthood chiefly composed of beneficiaries, has long since proved itself to be a grand device to keep men in ignorance and bondage; a scheme by means of which the people have been shrewdly taught to put out their own eyes, to fetter their own feet, and to bind the yoke upon their own necks. From this iniquitous scheme, a knowledge of the New Testament is the only means that can set these people FREE.†

(e) When the Bishop rests from his labors, the church, of which he had the oversight, by his labors, and by the opportunity afforded all the members of exercising their faculties of communication and inquiry in the public assembly, finds within itself others educated and qualified to be appointed to the same good work. The church of the living God is thus independent of theological schools and colleges for its existence, enlargement, comfort, and perfection; for it is itself put in possession of all the means of education and accomplishments, if these means be widely used.‡

(f) The Church Missionary Society are about to establish a Seminary for the education of missionaries. The cost

*Christian Baptist, second edition, Vol. 1, p. 154.

†Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, pp. 46, 47.

‡Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, p. 206.

of the premises, buildings, furniture, etc., is expected to amount to nearly £10,000, or *forty-four thousand four hundred and forty-four dollars.*"*

Mr. Campbell evidently considers this a case of wilful waste.

(g) The present age is an age of new invention, and of rapid growth. D. Ds spring up as by a magic rod, and more especially in this warm climate, where gourds, camp-meetings, theological schools and pumpkins flourish with uncommon rapidity.†

2. Home Missions, as well as foreign, are attacked.

(a) Like all anti-missionaries, he seeks to make the needs of the home fields a club with which to destroy foreign missions:

It is to be hoped that all Christians will turn their attention more to good works and to the conversion of those around them, and to the union of all disciples on primitive grounds, in order that the whole world may be brought under the dominion of the Root and Offspring of David. The religious communities of this country have long enough indulged in the idea of converting other nations, and have squandered many thousands already, as well as sacrificed many useful lives in the chimerical project of converting foreign idolaters, while millions at home demand more energies than all now employed to ameliorate their condition, and to accelerate the march of truth on its own high road throughout the earth. "Holy Father, may all that believe on thee through the testimony of the apostles, be one—that the whole world may be converted and persuaded that thou didst send me to be the Saviour of the world!" So spake the Lord Jesus. And who will not say, Amen! EDITOR.‡

---

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 2, p. 156.

†Christian Baptist, Vol. 2, p. 292.

‡Christian Baptist, Vol. 5, p. 71.

(b) But he also bitterly attacks the efforts in the home field.

(1) The churches in the East had much better bestow their charities in the support of widows, than send missionaries to the West. Through the help of God we can take care of ourselves. Indeed, the people have little or no confidence in these graduated missionaries, who receive a salary of $400 per annum—ride about the country, and do little or no good to the souls or bodies of their fellow creatures. We care not how many ministers, men who have the fear of God in their hearts, remove to the West. Such we shall give a hearty welcome as fellow laborers in the Kingdom.*

(2) Commenting on a circular letter sent out by the Congregational Domestic Missionary Society from New Haven, September 16, 1823, and signed by Samuel Merwin, Nathaniel Taylor and Timothy Dwight, Mr. Campbell makes the following criticism :

You have for your object, 1st, the spread of the gospel only—or 2nd, the accumulation of funds—or 3d, it is a mere policy, and that policy the increase of our sect, and your own ascendency over other sects, and the people. The first you allege is your only motive; but it is very much doubted. The second you deny but many believe it. But that the third comes in for a principal share in your motive is not only too evident to deny, but is now proved by confessions in the foregoing circular.†

The full discussion covers pages 150-153 inclusive.

Other passages might be cited, some of them containing his keenest shafts of wit and ridicule, but these will doubtless suffice.

---

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 7, pp. 88, 89.

†Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, 152.

(3) Bible Societies come in for their share of abuse and criticism at his hands.

With regard to Bible Societies, they are the most specious and plausible of all the institutions of this age. No man who loves the Bible can refrain from rejoicing at its increasing circulation, but every Christian who understands the nature and design, the excellence and glory of the institution called the *Church of Jesus Christ*, will lament to see its glory transferred to a human corporation. The church is robbed of its character by every institution, merely human, that would ape its excellence and substitute itself in its place. . . . . *

III. METHODS OF ATTACK.

These have necessarily been shown to some extent in the citations above. It is worthy of note, however, that one of his favorite methods is to harp on the—

1. Expense of missionary operations as contrasted with the results accomplished.

This has been ever a favorite theme with the opponents of missions, but Campbell was enabled to use it with greater power than any of his successors, because missions were then in their infancy. It was pre-eminently a time of clearing and breaking ground, of sowing seed and laying foundation, of planting and watering and waiting for God to give the increase. And during the long years of waiting for even the first convert, when difficulties towered mountain high, and the future was brightened only by the promises of God, how cruelly the enemies at home pressed the question of expense!

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, p. 97.

(a) A number of the citations given refer to this point as well as to the one under which they were quoted.

(b) On page 45, volume 1, he quoted from the "Boston Recorder" a list of the educational and missionary societies in Great Britian and America, with the amount of their income. This he follows by scathing comment and criticism on page 45.

(c) Surely there can be no human employment in which so much ingenuity and fertility of invention are displayed, as the business of sponging the public out of their money for missionary purposes, etc. (This has been quoted in full under "e" on page 130 *supra*).

(d) I have thought it worth while to copy a part of his comment on the expense list of a mission station, taken from the sixth annual report of the United Foreign Missionary Society, held in New York May 7, 1823:

In looking over the expenses of the various stations, we find that the Seneca Mission is indeed, as the "managers" say, "interesting," if expenses can make it so. There are, we believe, seven persons belonging to this mission family, including the interpreter, (who is a white man in costume of a native), and including the children, nineteen in number The following is a copy of the amount paid to this establishment in one year, ending March 1822, as stated in the secretary's account of moneys paid:

1821.

June 12,	By Cash paid Rev. Mr. Harris' draft No. 9.....	$ 776.79
	Do. Thos. Armstrong's draft No. 10..	45.00
Oct. 4,	Do. Rev. T. S. Harris and J. Young's draft No. 22.....	648.09
	Do. Thos. Armstrong's draft No. 23..	45.00

Dec. 2,	Do. Messrs. Harris and Young's draft No. 32.....	$ 688.12
	Do. Thos. Armstrong's draft No. 33.	45.00
	1822.	
Feb. 24,	Do. Harris and Young's draft No. 43	758.07
March 1,	Do. Thos. Armstrong's draft No. 44	45.00
		$3,051.07

These several sums were drawn for quarterly by Messrs. Harris and Young, the missionaries at the Seneca Station, and Thomas Armstrong, the interpreter, and amount, as the footing shows, to $3,051.07 for one year's expenses. The same book from which we copy this, states, that the Seneca Mission was commenced in 1811, (of course it has been in operation twelve years), and during the *last* year a church has been formed, consisting of *four* Indian members. What the expense of this mission was during the first eleven years of its existence, we know not; but putting that out of the account, and taking the expense of the twelfth year *only*, which is $3,051.07, dividing it by four, the number of Indians who have 'joined the church,' and we have a fraction over $762.76 to each Indian 'brought in.' This, reader, is the account, as it stands in the missionary report, which, of course, must be taken and received as authentic. Whether the *four* who have joined the church are *better* than before, we are not told—of course we must infer they are *not*—for these people always brag of all they have.*

(e) The sermon on goat's milk is too rich and humorous, and too well illustrates Campbell's power of drying up the fountains of benevolence not to be given in full. This, though first quoted here, was really his first missile.

A SERMON UPON GOATS.

BY THE REV. MR. M'——D, D. D., F. R. S.

"*And thou shalt have goat's milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens.*"—Prov. xxvii:27.

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, (2d edition,) p. 79.

From the days of Origen, in the second century, to the present, it has been fashionable to spiritualize the scriptures, and to teach men that they have a meaning besides what is expressed. Many to this day think the scriptures have a double sense—what is said and what is meant. A man who could find a spiritual meaning to Sampson's bee-hive, jaw-bone, and the tails of his three hundred foxes connected with firebrands, could doubtless find a spiritual meaning to our text. What could it be? We will suppose it to be this :

1st. The person addressed must mean a minister of modern times, to whom it is said, "And *thou* shalt have goat's milk enough," &c.

2d. His household and maidens must signify in the spiritual sense, his family and domestics.

3d. The goats must mean the non-elect, who are in the end to be eternally miserable, after feeding the minister and his family for life; according to Matthew xxv, &c.

4th. The goat's milk, in the spiritual sense of the text, which is represented as abundant, must mean the generous and constant support which these ministers, their children and servants have received from the non-elect, or such as are declared to be of that number, who do so well for their owners here, and who are to be treated so cruelly hereafter.

We will allow that the first three propositions are so plain that they need no illustration, and proceed to prove the truth of the fourth particular—"*Thou shalt have goat's milk enough.*" It is a fact beyond all dispute, that those who are considered the unconverted or non-elect are generally depended on for the support of such as have for years been considered ministers of the gospel. The meeting houses are chiefly built with the money which belongs to such as are denominated goats; and were it not for this part of the people, what a poor condition the sheep would be in! It is a curiosity the manner in which the goat's milk is obtained. Money is wanted to make the parson a life-member of the Bible Society. The goats must be milked—

and soon the ladies produce the money. A pious young man presents himself as one called to the ministry, but is not able to obtain an honorable education at *Princeton*, *Providence* or *Cambridge*. Milk the goats is the next step. Men, women and children are called, and the help is *stripped* from them, and the pious young men have "*goat's milk enough.*"

Missionaries are needed among the heathen in *Vermont*, *Maine* and *Rhode Island*. The goats are milked again and the missionaries spread their fame in all directions. A brother clergyman is dismissed "because no man hath hired him;" the goats are milked, and he is on a mission at twenty or fifty dollars per month. A mission is agreed on to Asia, and the goats are resorted to support the friends for twenty-four years. At last this fails, and what next? Mr. *Ward* appears, and tells the owners of the goats that nothing can be done unless a college is built in Asia, and some of the natives made ministers. The goats are called up and ten thousand dollars are collected. The goats are left to feed on the high hills until another milking time returns, when their empty pails are again presented, to be replenished from the same source.

These milking vessels are placed wherever the goats are likely to resort—as in the *bureau*, on the merchant's *counter*, in the *museum*—for the purpose of milking out the abundance of these milch kine. They have drawn from the goats money, hats, shoes, stockings, shirts and gowns; sweetmeats and other luxuries; with *missionary fields*, corn, potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, &c.

All these things have been done, in addition to *stripping* for watch seals and the estates of old bachelors and maids when death shall put an end to their wants. According to the modern pulpit doctrine, these poor goats are to be rewarded for all their milk, (no good for the elect,) with a portion with the devils and damned souls in eternal misery, where they shall see the "*very elect*," who are fed upon their milk, and by it nourished and prepared for glory everlasting.*

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, (2nd edition,) pp. 18-20.

Not only, however, were the missionaries charged with extravagance, but with

2. Corruption, embezzlement, dishonesty, speculation and stealing.

(a) In an open letter addressed to "Mr. Robert Cautious," he says :*

Our objections to the missionary plan originated from the conviction that it is unauthorized in the New Testament and that, in many instances, it is a system of iniquitous peculation and speculation. I feel perfectly able to maintain both the one and the other of these positions.

He then adduces as proof the instance of a missionary who received forty dollars for four sermons preached in Pittsburg.

(b) He relates the pleasing incident of a missionary sent from Connecticut to Ohio, who made a successful speculation and who, on being asked a few years later by a magistrate "which was the most *pleasant* employment, to *preach the gospel* as a missionary, or to *engage in land speculations?*" replied, "D—n the *preaching* so long as I can *make more money by speculation.*"

Campbell seems to be ashamed of publishing this and warns his readers that : "To deduce a general conclusion from particular occurrences is very bad logic." Still his publication of the incident, which he claims to be of undoubted authenticity, could have no other object or effect than to arouse prejudice against missions. But he makes a far more serious charge against the Serampore missionaries. I append the article in full and the editor's apology for letting it appear :

(c) SERAMPORE MISSIONARIES.—The Baptist Missionary Society in England has at length broke silence on

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, (2nd edition,) p. 149.

the subject of the missionaries at Serampore, and in their Magazine for July last undisguisedly express their surprise, concern and dissatisfaction at the proceedings at that place. The Baptist Missionary Society in England who sent out these very missionaries, are, in fact, as we stated some years ago, cut off from all participation in the property and in the management of the concerns at Serampore. The immense property at that place is wholly in the possession and under the control of the Serampore missionaries; and this event was brought about, or rather this seizure of the property was made at the very time when the Baptist Missionary Society in England had no other idea but that these missionaries were acting merely as trustees for the society in England. These great men must now be wealthy enough. The ten thousand dollars obtained in this country a few years ago must add something to their funds, and might serve to show, we should suppose, the folly of giving money to missionary beggars under the pretence of converting the heathen. How many other "pious" and "renowned" missionaries will play as successful a game as those at Serampore, time must show. We hope the editor of the New York Commercial Advertiser, on seeing the statement made by the Baptist Missionary Society in England, will recall some of his abusive epithets against us for publishing only the truth, and that of such a kind as the public were entitled to know.

It seems from the statement given, that since the seizure of the property at Serampore, the London Baptist Missionary Society has used every effort to obtain some participation in the property or in the management of the concerns at Serampore. But while the Serampore missionaries have all along been calling on the society in England for money, and have actually obtained considerable sums, they have been exceedingly vigilant and careful not to allow the society in England the least right, title or authority with respect to anything at Serampore. Such a state of things could not long be endured. During Dr. Marshman's last visit to England, it was proposed as a last re-

sort by the London Society, for "Doctors" Carey and Marshman to have the whole management of things at Serampore during their lives, reserving to the society only the *nomination* of their successors. "The consideration of this proposal," say the committee of the London Society, "and the general subject, occupied several days of most anxious deliberation, and repeated efforts were made to prevent the painful issue to which the discussions were apparently tending. But as every proposal made by the committee was declined by Mr. Marshman, they were constrained to yield to a separation, which their present communications with Dr. Marshman convinced them had actually been made, and which it was manifestly determined to maintain. The committee were fully aware of the unfavorable impression which might be produced, and deeply sympathized in the painful feelings which the event might occasion; but they also felt that they could not consistently continue to vote the funds with which they were entrusted to a body asserting entire independence."

It is not likely that the Serampore missionaries will be able to get any more money from the Baptists in England. They are rich enough without it, and live more in the style of princes than humble missionaries of Christ. If such has been the termination of those who first engaged in modern missionary enterprises, and whose praises have been sounded over the four quarters of the globe, what can be expected of those who have succeeded them since missionary undertakings have become more popular, and whose motives consequently for engaging in them are more questionable.

REFORMER.

(I never was opposed, in principle or practice, to any scriptural means of converting the heathen. I expressed many doubts in the first volume of this work on the propriety and utility of modern missionary schemes. I have said little on this subject for the last three years, but I have thought a good deal upon the subject. I yet cannot flatter myself into any sanguine expectations from all

these devices. I take no pleasure in recording such disasters as the above; but I could not do justice to the signs of the times unless I gave the above extract. I make not such incidentals, however, a test of truth, nor do I oppose the modern devices because of such mismanagement.)

ED. C. B.

But the greatest weapon of Mr. Campbell's attack was his

(3) Terrific Power of Ridicule.

(a) Compare his accounts of means of raising money and his sermon on goat's milk already quoted.

(b) His interlarded comments on an article copied by The Reformer from The Watchman on "Madagascar" are rich with humor and bristling with satire. It is too long to quote here.

(c) His burlesque of the ordination of the "Missionaries to Burmah" is too excruciatingly funny and was too effective not to be republished.

FROM THE LATTER DAY LUMINARY, July, 1823.

MISSIONARIES TO BURMAH.

On Wednesday, the 11th of June, at Utica, New York, the Rev. *Jonathan Wade* and his consort were set apart as missionaries to the Burman Empire, by a Committee of the Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention. An interesting sermon was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. *Nathaniel Kendrick* from II Timothy 2:10—"*Therefore I endure all things for the elects' sake, that they also may attain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory.*" Rev. *Alfred Bennett* led in offering up the consecrating prayer. Rev. *Daniel Hascall* gave Mr. Wade an appropriate charge, and the Rev. *Joel W. Clark* gave him the right hand of fellowship,"*that he should go to the heathen.*" Rev.

John Peck addressed Mrs. Wade, and Rev. *Elon Galusha* gave her the right hand of fellowship. Rev. *Elijah F. Willey* offered the concluding prayer. The services were performed in Rev. Mr. Atkin's meeting house. The day was fine, and the assemblage was very large, and proved by their fixed and silent attention to the services, how much they felt for the world that lieth in wickedness ; and by a collection of $86.23 taken on the spot, they showed a willingness to share in the pleasure and expense of spreading the gospel in all the earth.

Mr. Wade is a young man, and a native of the State of New York. He received his classical and theological education in the theological seminary at Hamilton. He appeared before the committee a man of good sense, of ardent piety, and understandingly led by the Spirit of God to the work in which he has now engaged. Mrs. Wade is from a respectable family in Hamilton, Madison county--daughter of Deacon Lapham. Her early piety and active zeal in the cause of her Redeemer, has encouraged the hope that she will be eminently useful in the cause of missions with her husband.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR :--How accordant is the language and spirit of the above to the following passage from the 13th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles : "On Wednesday the 11th of June, A. D., '44, the Rev. *Saulus Paulus* and the Rev. *Joses Barnabas* were set apart as missionaries to the Gentiles dispersed throughout the world, by a committee of the Board of Managers of the Baptist General Convention, met in the city of Antioch. An interesting sermon was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. *Simon Niger*, from Isaiah 42:4—"*The isles shall wait for his law.*" The Rev. Lucius of Cyrene, led in offering up the consecrating prayer. Rev. Manaen gave Mr. Paulus and his companion (Mr. Barnabas) an appropriate charge, and the Rev. John Mark gave them the right hand of fellowship, "*that they should go to the heathen.*" The Rev. Lucius of Cyrene offered up the concluding prayer. The services were performed in the Rev. Mr. Simon Niger's meeting house.

The day was fine, and the assemblage was very large, and proved by their fixed and silent attention to the services, how much they felt for the world that lieth in wickedness; and by a collection of $86.25, they showed a willingness to aid the Rev. Mr. Paul and the Rev. Mr. Barnabas in carrying the gospel to the heathen.

Mr. Paulus is a young man, and a native of the city of Tarsus; he received his classical and theological education in the theological seminary in Jerusalem. He appeared before the committee a man of good sense, of ardent piety, and understandingly led by the Spirit of God to the work in which he has now engaged.

It is then plain that the above notification is just in the spirit and style of this passage from the 13th chapter of the Acts. But in the common translation the original loses much of its aptitude and beauty, for lo! it reads thus: "Now there was in the Church that was at Antioch certain prophets and teachers; as Barnabas, and Simon that was called Niger, and Lucius of Cyrene, and Manaen which had been brought up with Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. As they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

It is much to be desired that the Baptists in the Western country will not imitate these precedents of pompous vanity, so consecrated in the east; and that they will rather cherish the spirit and copy the style of that much despised little volume ca led the New Testament. Then we know they will remember that it is spoken by our Lord, "*Be not called Rabbi*," or Reverend. Then they will confess that many things of high reputation in this age are an abomination in the sight of God.*

Ridicule is the hardest thing in the world to answer. Witness the popularity of Voltaire,

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, pp. 43-45.

Ingersoll and other infidels. Alexander Campbell found it a weapon no less effective against the truth than did Voltaire, or than Ingersoll has since that time. It is a weapon mighty to the pulling down of strongholds, but as Eli Perkins justly claims in his "Philosophy of Wit and Humor," it is a weapon *only used against truth.*

IV.

It will have been noticed by the most casual reader that Campbell always claims to be in favor of what he considered New Testament missions. Let us now see what he considers necessary to a missionary movement on New Testament plans:

1. Christian Unity is made a condition precedent to missionary endeavor.

(a) In the preface to Vol. I, page 10 of "Christian Baptist," he says: "To convert the heathen to the popular Christianity of these times would be an object of no great consequence, as the popular Christians themselves, for the most part, require to be converted to the Christianity of the New Testament."

(b) Again, on page 70 of Vol. II, "Christian Baptist," he states this position with such unequivocal clearness that it is impossible to be misunderstood.

But the conversion of the world is planned and ordered by the will of heaven to be dependent on the unity of the disciples, as well as this unity dependent upon the apostles' testimony. An attempt to convert pagans and Mohametans to believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and *the sent* of the Father, until Christians are united, is also an attempt

to frustrate the power of the Messiah, to subvert his throne and government. There are unalterable laws in the moral world as in the natural. There are also unalterable laws in the government of the moral and religious world, as in the government of the natural. Those laws cannot, by human interference, be set aside or frustrated—we might as reasonably expect that Indian corn will grow in the open fields in the midst of the frost and snows of winter, as that pagan nations can be converted to Jesus Christ till Christians are united through the belief of the apostles' testimony We may force corn to grow by artificial means in the depth of winter, but it is not like the corn of August. So may a few disciples be made in pagan lands by such means in the moral empire as those by which corn is made to grow in winter in the natural empire, but they are not like the disciples of primitive times before sectarian creeds came into being. It is enough to say, on this topic, that the Saviour made the *unity of the disciples* essential to the conviction of the world; and he that attempts it independent of this essential, sets himself against the wisdom and plans of heaven, and aims at overruling the dominion and government of the Great King."

2. He maintains that the missionaries must be endowed with power to work miracles. This view he fully sets forth in an article in the first volume of the "Christian Baptist," entitled "The Capital Mistake of Modern Missionary Schemes." This article is too long to quote in full, but the following copious extracts are given:

In order that this (i. e. the capital mistake of modern missionary schemes,) may appear as plain as possible, we shall take a brief view of the two grand missions instituted by God. The first was that of Moses and Joshua. Moses was the great apostle from God to the Israelites in Egypt... After forty years (in Midian) the Lord appeared to him and commissioned him as his missionary to Egypt.

Moses from his own experience on a former occasion, discovered that something more was necessary to his success than good professions and good speeches; he, therefore, answered and said, "But behold they will not believe in me, nor hearken unto my voice; for they will say, the Lord hath not appeared unto thee." The Lord immediately authorized and empowered him to work miracles. He now goes forth, in conjunction with his brother Aaron, clothed with proper authority, confirming his testimony with signs and wonders, and effects the deliverance of the Israelites from ignorance and bondage. . . He brought them out, after he had shewn *wonders* and *signs* in the land of Egypt and in the Red Sea, and in the wilderness forty years. . . . Signs and wonders accompanied the ministry of Joshua until he placed the tribes of Israel in their own land and divided it to them by lot. . . Without pausing on the mission of John the Baptist to introduce the Christian era, which was also authenticated by signs and wonders attendant on his conception and birth, and which were noised abroad throughout all Judea, whereby his testimony was confirmed unto the people; we proceed to the second in order of time, but in fact the first grand mission to which all others were subservient; we mean the Father sending his own Son into the world as his great apostle or missionary and the Son's sending his missionaries to perfect this grand mission. We need not stop here to show that signs and wonders accompanied his preaching, as every Christian, on the evidence of these signs and wonders, receives him as God's Messiah, the Saviour of the world. But how did he send forth his missionaries? . . . "Jesus called unto him his twelve disciples, and gave them power against unclean spirits to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness and disease." These he commanded to go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to preach the approaching reign of heaven, and to confirm it by miracles, "heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out demons; freely ye have received, freely give." The seventy disciples who were sent out by the Messiah to go before his face. . were

sent in the same manner, empowered to confirm their testimony by signs and wonders. See Luke 10. The apostles in the last commission, were sent to all the world; but were prohibited, in the accompanying instructions, from commencing their operations, until they should be endued with a *power* from on high. Thus all the missionaries sent from heaven, were authorized and empowered to confirm their doctrines with signs and wonders sufficient to awe opposition, to subdue the deepest rooted prejudices, and to satisfy the most inquisitive of the origin of their doctrine. After Pentecost their powers were enlarged and new signs added. . . Those spiritual gifts continued until the gospel was preached to all the world, Jews and Gentiles, and until churches were planted in all nations. Then they ceased. Why? Doubtless, because in the eyes of Omniscience, they were no longer necessary. The missionary work was done. The gospel had been preached unto all nations before the end of the apostolic age. The Bible, then, gives us no idea of a missionary without the power of working miracles. Miracles and missionaries are inseparably connected in the New Testament. . . From these plain and obvious facts and considerations, it is evident that it is a *capital mistake* to suppose that missionaries in heathen lands, without the power of working miracles, can succeed in establishing the Christian religion. If it was necessary for the first missionaries to possess them, it is as necessary for those of our time who go to pagan lands to possess them. . . Is then, the attempt to convert the heathen by means of modern missionaries, an unauthorized and a hopeless one? It seems to be unauthorized, and, if so, then it is a hopeless one.

V. CAMPBELL'S MISSIONARY SCHEME.

This is presented in language of exquisite beauty, although he makes no attempt to carry out his own suggestion or to put in operation forces that will carry it out. His plan is to transport an entire church to some heathen land,

where purely by the force of their *example* they would convert the surrounding heathen to Christ.

The New Testament. . . teaches us that the association called the church of Jesus Christ, is in *propria forma*, the only institution of God left on earth to illuminate and reform the world. . . When spiritual men, i. e. men having spiritual gifts, or as now termed, miraculous gifts, were withdrawn, this institution was left on earth, as the grand scheme of heaven, to enlighten and reform the world. . . . The church of the living God is therefore styled the *pillar* and *support* of the truth. The Christian religion is a social religion, and can be exhibited to the full conviction of the world, only when it appears in this social character.

He then shows how the apostles formed the church and left it by its doctrine and example to Christianize the world. But men's ignorance and ambition have been such that they have perverted the New Testament simplicity so that Campbell can say to them:

The Christian name has been through your crimes blasphemed among the heathen. . . .Yes, indeed, so blasphemed so disgraced, so vilified, that amongst those pagans that have heard of it, the term *Christian* denotes everything that is hateful and impious. Consequently there can be no hope for the conversion of the pagan nations until the Christians return to the ancient model delineated in the New Testament; and until they keep the ordinances as delivered to them by the apostles. . . Then suppose a Christian church were to be placed on the confines of a heathen land, as some of them must inevitably be, the darkness of paganism will serve, as a shade in a picture, to exhibit the lustre of Christianity. . . If in the present day and among, those who talk so much of a missionary spirit, there could be found such a society, though it were composed of but twenty willing to emigrate to some heathen land, where

they would support themselves like the natives, wear the same garb, adopt the country as their own, and profess nothing like the missionary project; should such a society sit down and hold forth in word and deed the saving truth, not deriding the gods nor the religion of the natives, but allowing their own works and example to speak for their religion, and practicing as above hinted; we are persuaded that, in process of time, a more solid foundation for the conversion of the natives would be laid, and more actual success resulting, than from all the missionaries employed for twenty-five years. ... *

(1) It is seen that this plan assumes—

(a) That the gospel was preached to all the world in the first century.

(b) That this *exhausts the great Commission*, as is proved by the cessation of miraculous gifts. This is the fundamental hardshell position.

(c) That now, *only the church* and not the individual can engage in missionary activity and the church can engage in it *only by example*.

(2) This position ignores—

(a) The obligation to successive generations.

(b) The fact that "John (the Baptist) did no miracle."

(c) The influence of *the Bible* as a missionary agent.

(d) The command to Timothy, "to do the work of an evangelist."

In short, while claiming the necessity of following the New Testament, it demands a different method of procedure now for converting the world than was used then. That was ad-

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 1, (2nd edition) pp. 41-43.

mittedly done by individuals as well as churches. But it is demanded that this be done by churches only.

The effect of such an evasion of duty and of such attacks as he made on those who were attempting something for Christ and the lost world, can be briefly, but clearly, shown by extracts from a letter of remonstrance addressed to Campbell and published by him in the "Christian Baptist." The signature is not printed.

". . . I regret exceedingly the opposition you have made to the missionary and Bible Society cause. It has greatly injured your usefulness and put into the hands of your Paido-Baptist opposers a weapon to break the heads of the Baptists. . . My dear sir, you have begun wrong if your object is reformation. Never attack the principle which multiplies the number of Bibles, or which promotes the preaching of the gospel or the support of it, if you desire Christianity to prevail. As I informed you when here, I repeat it again, your opposition to a preached gospel, to the preachers and Bible societies, secure to you the concurrence of the covetous, the ignorant, the prayerless and Christless Christians. Should they have had any religion, they cease to enjoy it as soon as they embrace your views; at the same time you wound the hearts of the zealous and devout Christians. These are not the expressions of one who has an interest in defending the "Kingdom of the clergy," or the hireling system, but of one who, like yourself, has been providentially thrown into the possession of a competency of the good things of this world. I am as much as you can be for the correction of all errors, but in making the correction, or in aiming at it—spare, I beseech you, the grand means that God has employed and is still using for extending Christ's kingdom—I mean a preached gospel. I agree with you in the use and operation of every other

mean in its proper place; but I must insist on is, that the preaching of the gospel is a most powerful one. . .

I am yours etc.,————————*

All the quotations given from Mr. Campbell have been taken from his writings while he still claimed to be a Baptist and gave his paper that name.

---

*Christian Baptist, Vol. 50, (2nd edition), pp. 204, 205.

CHAPTER VII.

PROGRESS AND SPIRIT OF OPPOSITION TO MISSIONS.

The stream of anti-mission sentiment can be traced back to the source already mentioned, i. e., the writings and influence of Daniel Parker and Alexander Campbell. Daniel Parker's influence has been great in southern Illinois, Indiana, Tennessee and Kentucky, especially in the last named State. He sometimes made long journeys at his own expense to fight in church and association the mission cause. In reference to the effects of Mr. Campbell's teaching, I can give no better idea than to quote Dr. Spencer, who alone among Baptist historians has recognized the tremendous part played by Mr. Campbell in this arena. *

> The effects of these teachings were felt as far as the "*Christian Baptist*" was circulated, and nowhere more than among Baptists of Kentucky. The preachers who had hitherto received but a small pittance from their charges, were further reduced in their resources of living. The friends of education were discouraged in their endeavors to erect a college. The Baptist Missionary societies, that started

* Dr. Spencer is my chief authority for all matters relating to Kentucky.

under such auspicious circumstances, were dwarfed, and ultimately perished. The ministers were brought into disrepute among those who most needed the restraints of their teaching, and practical benevolence was well nigh destroyed in the churches, at least, so far as any effort to spread a knowledge of the gospel was concerned. It required the labors of thirty years to bring the Baptist churches of Kentucky up to the standard of Christian benevolence, to which they had attained in 1816, and a considerable fraction of them continued their downward course, in this respect, thirty years longer.*

Prior to 1830, the Licking Association of Kentucky adopted the policy of Mr. Campbell in regard to missions, benevolent societies and theological education, but rejected his theology. In the meantime, of course, Mr. Campbell had been developing his theology in its more well-known forms and laying the foundation for a new denomination. In Kentucky, by 1830, there was a definite separation between the Baptists and the Disciples, as they called themselves. The remnant of the one-time strong Arminian element among the Baptists had gone with the Disciples. But the fact that this Arminianism was made prominent prevented many of those among the Baptists who shared Mr. Campbell's views in regard to missionary operations, Bible distribution and theological education from joining his "Disciples." These were left among the Baptists to cause yet further division. The anti-missionaries thus left behind were not agreed among themselves. The larger element,

*Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, Vol. 1, pp. 593, 594.

represented by Licking, Red River and other Associations, was decidedly antinomian in its doctrine. This antinomian faction was itself divided on the Two-Seeds doctrine of Parker and afterward on the resurrection. The other division of the anti-missionaries followed Dr. Andrew Fuller's interpretation of the doctrines of grace, but "opposed all human societies" for carrying the gospel. The number of these anti-missionaries left was about 7,000; their loss in numbers would have been seriously felt, but the power of the church to recuperate would have been greatly strengthened had they gone out with the rest of Mr. Campbell's "Disciples." In 1831 efforts were revived to have a "General Meeting." Dr. Noel was the chief mover in this enterprise. It was, of course, bitterly opposed by the anti-missionaries; but on December 11, 1831, a society of 153 members was formed at Frankfort, Kentucky, styled "The Frankfort Association, auxiliary to the Kentucky Baptist Convention (expected to be instituted)." This resulted in the organization of the Kentucky Baptist State Convention at Bardstown, March 29th, 1832. The attempt of this body to defend a theory of subordination in the ministry, or episcopacy, enabled the anti-missionaries to destroy it. Their success in this matter encouraged them in their intolerance so that the friends of benevolent societies soon came to regard themselves as fortunate if they could effect a compromise in the churches and associations of Kentucky on the ground that giving, or not giving, shall be no bar to fellowship. This statement is still found in many old church and associational

records. For the next ten years, i. e., until 1840, the anti-missionaries flourished as the green bay tree and succeeded in having a number of brethren and preachers excluded from their churches for giving to or advocating the claims of missions. The organization of the Baptist General Association brought the matter to a crisis. This body was organized in 1837. The enemies of the General Association in both churches and district associations forced the matter to a vote and either excluded the missionaries, if they had a majority, or, if not, went off and set up housekeeping for themselves, under the designations of "Old," "Old School," "Primitive," "Predestinarian," "Original," "Particular," "Regular," and in one small association, "Anti-Missionary." To all of these terms they affixed the word "Baptist." These all continued the same attack in the same spirit, renewing the onslaught with fearful bitterness during the financial panic of 1842. The division was complete by the year 1850. The anti-missionary faction had all along opposed protracted meetings and all other efforts to bring sinners to Christ, and hence, have never since the time of their separation, enjoyed a revival of any considerable extent. Spencer gives these statistics for the year 1850:

> The anti-missionaries had gathered themselves into twenty-five small associations, embracing 266 churches and 9,476 members. Of these, about three-fourths did not differ from the Missionary Baptists, except in the single item of forming and contributing to benevolent societies. The other fourth were pretty evenly divided into Two-Seeders, Hyper-Calvinists, and Anti-Resurrectionists. The

main body of the denomination comprised forty-three associations, 757 churches, and 65,489 members. There were at this period in Kentucky, altogether, 68 Baptist associations, comprising 1,023 churches and 74,965 members. *

I have not been able to secure a complete history of this period among the Baptists of North Carolina, although the anti-missionary spirit was quite strong there, and seems to have spread into that State from Tennessee and Kentucky. It is certain that Mr. Campbell's anti-missionary followers early organized themselves there. The following letter or rather extract from a letter was printed in "The Christian Baptist" of December 4th, 1826:

I have before me a letter received from a Baptist preacher in Wake county, North Carolina, stating that nine churches of the Raleigh Baptist Association, have rent themselves from that association in consequence of the annoyance they have met with from missionary schemes and missionary beggars. They call themselves the "Reformed Baptist Churches." I also saw a few day s since a respectable Baptist preacher from the Neuse Baptist Association, who stated that he thought there were as many as fifteen churches in that association, ready to separate from the association for the same reasons. He also stated that one church in the Kehukee Association had pointedly declared against the missionary and money-begging system.†

As a general rule, however, the hyper-Calvinism of the anti-missionaries in North Carolina was enough stronger than their hatred of human organizations for spreading the gospel, to hold them in the Baptist ranks until some

*Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, pp. 694, 695.

†Requoted from Spencer's History of Kentucky Baptists, p. 609.

years after the Campbellite split. The same intolerance was displayed there as in Kentucky, necessitating finally the same division, although the missionaries bore long and patiently with the violence and unfairness of their anti-missionary brethren. The formation of the North Carolina State Convention was effected by a comparatively small number of the missionary brethren, but eventually captured the State for the missionary cause.

In Alabama the story is much the same. The following quotation from Hosea Holcombe, warning the Alabama Baptists from following the example of the North Carolina anti-missionary brethren, is a sufficient indication that Campbells' influence against missions was felt in Alabama also:

> Is it for Baptists then to oppose missions, to decry the Bible and tract societies, to proscribe colleges and theological seminaries? Baptists of all men in the world ought to be foremost in these enterprises. Everything which contributes to spread light among mankind will hasten the triumph of our principles. It is a source of surprise and sorrow that there are men who call themselves Baptists, and who are nevertheless opposed to all these exertions. Let them come forth as they are now doing like the "Kehukee Association" and the "*Reformed Churches*," the sooner they disclose their true character the better. Let the line be drawn distinctly between the friends and the enemies of missions. *

At the beginning of the mission controversy Alabama was very sparsely settled. In fact, it only received the name of Alabama in 1817. There was some difference of sentiment among

* Holcombe's History of Baptists of Alabama, p. 88

the early settlers. Some of them held that the command of our Lord as given in the Great Commission must be obeyed by the churches by sending men to preach the gospel to the destitute; others greatly objected to this as being an attempt to thwart the will of God by securing the salvation of those whom he had decreed to be damned from before the foundation of the world. In time these differences became more marked and the work of disintegration early began. The inconsistency of some of the missionary Baptists, and the firm dogmatic convictions of the anti-missionaries helped the division along. As usual, the attempt to organize a State Convention brought the matter to a head, and the anti-missionaries took the field against their missionary brethren.

There come periods in the histories of all causes which afford an opportunity for petty leadership. More ambitious than righteous, a certain class of malcontents hampered by their own pride and flattered by their vanity, placed themselves in the lead of such discordant elements as they could rally, in order to oppose the work projected by the Convention. For a long period the forces which at last broke forth in open revolt against missionary effort, had been slowly gathering. The occasion had not before arisen when they could be so pronounced, and being so, excite so much attention and work such great damage. The advanced position taken by the Convention in the appointment of missionaries was the signal for the would-be leaders to sally forth in opposition. The neglect previously exercised by the pastors or preachers in the State, with respect to the development of the members of the churches, furnished these opposers with a club with which to cudgel the head of a missionary convention. This indifference to development was now bearing fruit, and it was bitter

fruit to the pioneer missionary; for everywhere he went he encountered more or less obstruction. This opposition was, perhaps, more pronounced in the northern and central portions of the State than elsewhere In the first mentioned region it showed itself, first of all, by a marked indifference; but this soon took on the form of active opposition. In the Alabama Association, under the leadership of such men as Rev. Wm. Jones, the opposition was severe. . . . . At the time about which we write he was a turbulent element among the churches in the central and southern portions of the State. It was at his instigation that there was submitted to the Alabama Association in 1825 this declaration from the Breastwork Church, Butler county. The following extract from the record shows the spirit of the author and of those in sympathy with him:

"Breastwork Church petitioned in her letter that this Association take into consideration the propriety, or impropriety, and make decision thereon of a declaration made by that church, declaring an uncommunion fellowship with the Baptist State Conventions, theological schools, Bible societies, tract societies, and all churches that hold members of such societies in fellowship with them." The scheme happily failed of its purpose. The Association refused to consider the petition, and wisely disposed of it by laying it upon the table. But it was the gage of battle. It became the slogan of certain officious preachers who zealously fomented trouble as they found opportunity.*

The churches and associations gave up their time to trivial discussions on foot-washing, temperance and kindred topics, enlivening their meetings by diatribes against their missionary brethren. The missionaries made the usual mistake of trying to remain in harmony with their anti-missionary brethren, and pleaded in

*Riley's History of the Baptists of Alabama, pp. 43-45.

vain for a spirit of toleration. Riley says that "every step of progress was resisted by a people who glorified in their ignorance, and regarded with complacent satisfaction their indisposition to activity in church life." The following quotations taken from the speeches of two of the prominent opponents of missions will show the gentle Christian spirit and chaste language with which the Hardshells endeavored to dissuade their missionary brethren :

Mr. *J. W. Richards* of Chambers County :—I have known some preachers who at first thought all benevolent institutions were wrong but the Foreign Missions; and after a while they would receive another trait of the beast as right, and so on, until they would receive all but the tail, (Temperance Societies;) and *that* they would oppose with all their might for a while, but finding it was connected with the body, they would swallow that. I will tell you, my brother, what it makes me think of : it is just like a snake trying to swallow a squirrel. It will begin at its head and swallow that first, and so on until it comes to the tail. Then it tries every stratagem to get rid of swallowing the tail ; but finding it is connected with the body, it must either vomit all back or take down the tail, although averse to it ; for if they vomit up the body and head, they will be laughed at for saying and contending that these things are right.

Mr. *A. Keaton*, of Green County :—Do not forget the enemy, (missionaries) bear them in mind ; the howling destructive wolves, the ravenous dogs, and the filthy and their numerous whelps. By a minute observation and the consultation of the sacred, never failing descriptive chart, even their physiogomy in dress, mein and carriage, and many other indented, indelible, descriptive marks, too tedious at present to write. The wolfish smell is enough to alarm, to create suspicion, and to ascertain ; the dog's

teeth are noted, and the wolves for their peculiar and distinct howl, etc., etc.—See *Primitive Baptist.**

Mr. Holcombe gives the following vivid description of a scene at one of the associations in which the controversy was in progress :

To undertake to describe a scene which we witnessed in the Flint River Association, would be the most painful; in truth, it beggars description. There were some of the most pious, humble, respectable and intelligent brethren, who most affectionately and earnestly besought their anti-brethren to suffer them to do as they felt bound in conscience to do, as they would with their own, and not let those things be a bar to Christian fellowship. They entreated, they pled by the mercies of God—by the love of the Saviour, and by the joys of heaven ; they wept—tears flowed ; they cried to heaven—heaven smiled ! But the adamantine hearts of the anti-brethren were not touched; they were apparently *as hard as the nether millstone.* Notwithstanding all this, the missionary party still clave to them, hoping to win them over to the truth ; yet it was evident they had no well-grounded hope, for the antis were determined and inflexible. Elder William Crutcher stood at their head, who appeared to be really sincere. Two years after this, the separating line was drawn, and the associations divided.†

Mr. Holcombe has the following footnote on the above :

We have been credibly informed by a worthy brother that a Baptist minister in the State of Georgia said, that 'if an angel was to come down from heaven, and declare the missionary cause was of God, he would not believe it!'—he immediately lost his speech, and remained in that deplorable situation until he died.

---

* Holcombe's History of Baptists in Alabama, pp. 90, 91. The quotation from the Primitive Baptist is an exact reproduction, both as to the grammar and the punctuation.

† Holcombe's History of the Baptists in Alabama, p. 93.

I give this footnote for what it is worth. It was hearsay evidence with Mr. Holcombe, and is no less so with me.

Dr. Riley so well describes the conditions preparatory to and during the final division that I can do no better than to quote at length his words :

The anti-missionary elements had become more turbulent and had never ceased to harass and menace as opportunity offered. The spirit of persecution waxed fiercer still as the months moved on. Repeated overtures from the conservative Baptists were spurned. The anti-missionary elements demanded that the matter of missions be wiped out entirely from the churches. They insisted upon the retention of an uneducated ministry. They demanded compliance with perverted notions of doctrine. They proudly boasted of their ignorance. They gloried in that which others disdained. The consciences of others counted for naught if their own notions, springing from ignorance, were only respected. The conservative branch of the Baptist family had foreborne, because they felt that they could afford to do so. They could afford to make concessions as long as principle was not involved. But the patience and forbearance of the conservative Baptists only made more aggressive and bolder the extremists. Their demands became more intolerant still. That which they meted out to the Missionary Baptists was insult, and only insult continually. The time for revolution had come. The denomination was ripe for it. The household was divided against itself. It could not stand. Throughout the State disorders broke out afresh. They showed themselves in the northern, eastern and southern parts of the State almost simultaneously. In north Alabama there had been a continual struggle since the founding of the first churches in that territory. In the counties of Chambers and Randolph desperate and unlawful measures were sometimes adopted to eject the missionary elements from the churches.

In Randolph the chief leaders were James Roquemore and John Blackman. These men gave industrious circulation to a sheet of anti-missionary views published in New York by one Beebe, who was said to have been a member of no church at all. The malicious falsehoods of this publication were to the effect that the money collected by pastors, missionaries and others was never applied to that for which it was claimed to be raised, but was used for purposes of speculation in the North. These men were heroically met and resisted. Rev. Jefferson Falkner, then a young minister in Randolph county, did valiant service in this connection. He had removed from Georgia in 1832, and at the time about which we write, was clerk of the County Court of Randolph county. Mr. Falkner withstood these defamers to their faces, and vindicated the Missionary Baptists from their aspersions.

While these disorders reigned along the eastern border of the State, the county of Montgomery and those adjacent were suffering from similar troubles. While to the more thoughtful and considerate among the Baptists, this revolutionary spirit, precipitated by their opponents, was regarded disruptive, they were only the throes which preceded final deliverance. The separation had to come. Without it peace was impossible. Without it there could be no prosperity. To be thus severed from the anti-missionaries was, to the progressive Baptists the riddance of an incubus. No real, steady progress came until there was dissolution, utter and final.

The scenes attendant upon disseverance were, in many instances, most exciting. The movement involved a separation of parents and children, brothers and sisters in their church relations. In every part of the State in which these colliding elements in the Baptist ranks existed, there came this final division. It is known throughout the State to-day proverbially as the "big split." *

---

* Riley; History of Alabama Baptists, pp. 108, 110.

The Pilgrim's Rest, the Beulah, and the Ebenezer Associations were the three principal anti-missionary bodies. The last two named were organized in 1838. The Ebenezer Association, the largest of these, was composed of eighteen churches. Seventeen of these churches seceded from the Alabama Association at the session held in Breastwork Church in October, 1838. The following significant prophecy is made by Rev. Hosea Holcombe in regard to the future of the opposers of missions. It was written prior to 1840, but he lived to see its partial fulfillment, and every year that fulfillment becomes more complete:

> The time is coming when the opposers of missions, whether professors of religion or not, will appear in a far different light from that in which they are now frequently regarded; they will be associated with infidels, and atheists, and all the open and deadly enemies of the cross. The time is coming when, to be lukewarm in the cause of missions will be regarded but little better than high treason against the King of heaven. The time may be expected sooner or later to arrive when God will manifest his displeasure against anti-missionary churches by the most signal and alarming punishments. The times of ignorance he compassionately winks at—in this respect we should imitate the example of our heavenly and merciful Father, and exercise a tender charity towards those mistaken brethren, whose errors can be palliated by their ignorance. But these times of darkness are fast passing away. The requirements of the gospel, and the miseries of a perishing world, have for a few years past, been presented to view in such a flood of light and demonstration, that if the churches upon which the light is beaming continue to close their eyes against it and slumber on in their leaden apathy, God will probably close up the avenues of his mercy, send

leanness into their souls and mildew upon their heritage; and finally leave them to be totally devoured by the rust and rottenness of antinomian lethargy. Alas! have we not already witnessed the beginning of these calamities in many of the churches in Alabama, which have set themselves in array against the missionary cause.*

Remember that this prophecy was written before 1840; how much before that time we do not know. But certainly previous to that, for his entire history was printed in that year. How well he read the future may be seen by quoting from another history of the Baptists of Alabama, by Dr. Riley, published in 1895:

Only a few churches of the anti-missionary Baptists remain in Alabama, and they are in the most retired districts. They never thrive in the light of intelligence and amid the pulsations of church energy. Their associations were the largest when first organized. But as intelligence advanced and evangelization progressed, these associations have diminished, and in the majority of instances have vanished. They have decreased as intelligence has increased. Many of their people were honest, loyal citizens; but their prejudice was as boundless as their illiteracy.†

In the Middle States, *i. e.*, Pennsylvania, Maryland, etc., the opposition to missions, while severe in some instances, was not so bitter as in the Western and Southern States. The Chemung Association, composed of eight churches in Pennsylvania and New York, passed the following resolution in September, 1835:

WHEREAS, A number of the Associations with whom we have held correspondence have departed from the simplicity of the doctrine and practice of the gospel of Christ, and have followed cunningly devised fables (the inventions

*Holcombe's History of the Baptists of Alabama, p. 102.

†Riley's History of the Baptists of Alabama, p. 123.

of men) uniting themselves with the world, in what are falsely called benevolent societies founded upon a moneyed base, with a profession to spread the gospel, which is another gospel differing for (*sic*, but evidently a misprint for "from") the gospel of Christ;

Resolved, Therefore, that we discontinue our correspondence with the Phila., Bridgewater, Franklin, Madison, Steuben, and all other associations which are supporting the popular institutions of the day, and most affectionately invite all those Churches or members of Churches among them who cannot fellowship them, to come out from among them and leave them.*

The Baltimore Association passes a resolution of the same tenor May, 1836, after which the separation between the two parties was rapidly accomplished. The anti-missionaries excluded the missionaries from their associations and fellowship for belonging to missionary enterprises or contributing to their support. The missionaries were glad enough to be separated and the division did not cause a great deal of friction, in spite of the violent denunciations made by the Hardshells according to their usual custom. At the present time there are only five anti-missionary associations in the Middle States. The Warwick and Lexington in New York; the Chemung and Delaware River in Pennsylvania (the Delaware River Association includes some churches in New Jersey), and the Delaware constitute the number. All of them were at first supporters of Sunday schools, missions, education, etc., but cunning leaders aroused their prejudices and eventually carried them into the Hardshell ranks. They have suf-

*Vedder's History of the Baptists in Middle States, p. 204.

fered the same marked and deadly decrease there as elsewhere since the time of the separation. According to the last census their strength in the Middle States is as follows: New York, 31 churches, 1,019 members; New Jersey, 4 churches, 258 members; Pennsylvania, 15 churches, 314 members; Delaware, 6 churches, 183 members. Total, 56 churches, 1,774 members. *

The first non-Roman Catholic white residents of what is now known as Missouri seem to have been Baptists. They arrived in 1796 and were joined in 1799 by an aged Baptist minister from Georgia—a former missionary among the Cherokee Indians, by the name of Thomas Johnson. These all settled in or near the town of Jackson in what is now known as Cape Girardeau County. Here the first Baptist Church in Missouri was constituted in 1806. A gavel made from one of the original logs of their first house of worship is now used in the meetings of the General Association of Missouri. The pioneer Baptists of that State came largely from North Carolina, South Carolina and Kentucky. Missouri had been originally a part of the Louisiana Purchase ratified by the United States Senate in 1804. In 1812 it became a territory of a higher grade and was given the name of Missouri. The name is that of a peculiarly shaped Indian canoe. During the territorial period Missouri was visited by missionaries, especially John M. Peck and James E.

* Vedder's History of the Baptists in the Middle States, pp. 204–206.

Welch. The labors of these men, together with those of Jonathan Going, brought about the organization of the Home Mission Board, and Missouri became the great field of that Board. The district associations were first organized by the non and even anti-missionary churches. The first of these were Bethel Association in Southeast Missouri, Missouri (now St. Louis) Association, and Mount Pleasant Association. Missouri became a State in 1821. Thirteen years later came the beginnings of the General Association. The population of Missouri at that time was about 250,000. French infidelity in St. Louis had made a bitter fight against the Sabbath's crossing the Mississippi River. Thieving, warring and vagrant Indians, the Mormons and the Mormon War, and finally the terrible cholera scourge of 1832, all acted as obstacles to prevent early organization for mission work. In August, 1834, there was organized at Providence what is now the General Association, although it was known as the Central Society until 1839. The attempt to organize brought forcible opposition. Two of the earliest and most prominent of the opposers were Theoderick Boulware and T. Peyton Stephens. These men were invited to assist informing the organization. The following quotation from Boulware's autobiography, page 11, will show in what spirit they received the invitation:

I received a letter from Eld. Ebenezer Rogers and others inviting me to attend a minister's meeting at Providence on a certain day, to adopt missionaryism—a plan for the better support of the ministry and to sustain the now

tottering cause of the Baptists. I, Elder T. Peyton Stephens and others met Elders Rogers, Hurley, Longan, Suggett, Vardeman and others. We advised and entreated these brethren to disperse and not establish this cockatrice den among us, from which will emanate a serpentine brood marring the peace of God's children and bringing much scandal on the cause of Christ, for we are assured you have in view more than the happiness of the church and the salvation of men. We fear you are somewhat decep tive. They formed, adjourned and met again and established their Central Society, from which have resulted all the consequences I anticipated and worse.

This was written nine years after the Providence meeting. I will let Dr. Yeaman describe their crusade. It is the same old familiar story.

It is true, however, that under the leadership of Boulware and Stephens the anti-missionary Baptists began a bitter warfare against the missionary Baptists. They denounced the organizers of the "Central Society" as "mercenaries," as "hirelings," "money-made preachers." They made tours of the churches and by ridicule, threats and intimidation sought to array them against this missionary movement. The churches that aligned themselves with the anti-missionaries forbade the members making contributions to missions. Persons favorable to missions were denied membership in such churches. The spirit of persecution was rife and rabid in the anti-missionaries. The cockatrices and serpent broods were set agoing by those who prophecied them. They were those who marred the happiness of the churches. Pseudo and mal-prophets will ever bring about a fulfillment of their evil predictions if possible. *

* Yeaman's History of the Missouri Baptist General Association, p. 49. Dr. Yeaman's most able and interesting work is the best authority on Baptist affairs in Missouri. It would be well if all the States had their history so well written.

As late as 1836 there was as yet no Board and no agent or corresponding secretary to supervise and direct the work of the Association. After a few years an executive board was appointed and in one year there was an increase in mission contributions from $69.25 to $313.25. The same year this report was made, 1837, Rev. Kemp Scott was appointed General Agent. Dr. Yeaman says:

Up to this time and for several subsequent years, there seemed a hesitancy on the part of the Association to engage an agent at a stipulated compensation. It is almost equally certain that this hesitancy was not so much the result of deliberate opposition to a paid agency as it was the effect of intimidation growing out of the persistent and violent adverse criticism of the anti-mission Baptists. While the Missionary Baptists desired to carry forward the work upon which they had entered, and their purpose was to do so, they at the same time wished to avoid all occasion for disturbing agitations and alienations. They had hoped to do their work without a paid financial agent, but each year experiences made it more manifest that such method could not be fruitful of satisfactory results. *

Violent opposition rendered the work of the agent hardest at first and the results proportionately small; but each year the success of the movement became more apparent, the work easier and the results greater, both in conversions and in contributions. The desire of the missionaries to go to any length in meekly bearing the frowns and contumely of their opponents, asking only for liberty to follow their

* Yeaman's History of the Missouri Baptist General Association, pp. 63, 64.

own conscience, while worthy of praise as showing the spirit of Christ in their attitude toward the brethren, proved futile to conciliate their opposers. The year 1835 was the year in which the greatest part of the division occurred. During a meeting of the Mount Pleasant Association the preceding year the query was introduced: "What shall be done with the missionary system which has made its appearance among us?" Some one mildly suggested that "liberty of conscience shall be granted." But this soft answer did not turn away wrath; it rather had the effect that would be produced by flaunting a red rag in the face of a herd of angry bulls. Long and heated discussion ensued and the proposition to grant liberty of conscience was negatived. James H. Birch, a politician who was present, then submitted this answer to the vexatious question: "That the subject of missions is one upon which Christians might conscientiously differ, but we advise the churches to keep it out of their bodies." The antis, believing him to be on their side, assented to this, but went back on it the next year and refused to be comforted by anything less than the head of the General Association severed from the Baptist body and brought them on a charger. By thus refusing to be governed by the principles of the Baptists of the United States and their own action of the preceding year, they rendered the division inevitable. (The sooner Missionary Baptists learn that compromise is impossible with the missionary opponents, and that a flag of truce will only be regarded as an evidence of weakness,

the sooner will they make progress in their missionary efforts.) I cannot refrain from quoting Dr. Yeaman's tribute to the missionary efforts of Fielding Wilhite, Thomas Fristoe and Ebenezer Rogers:

They were not slumbering on the plains where Achilles fought and Hector fell, with the towering mountains of Samothrace standing awful and gloomy sentinel; no night vision of one in distress, cried to them, "Come over and help us." But the spirit of the same ONE that appeared to the persecutor while on his way to Damascus and transformed him into an apostle, found these two humble men in their rural homes, and filling their hearts with a thirst for souls and a desire to glorify God, led them out into the destitute regions of a wild but prophetic country to seek out and save the scattered souls that peopled in sparse settlements, a land destined to blossom as the rose and yield its fruits for the upbuilding our empire State. Forthgoing in obedience to the heavenly impulse, they, with hearts knit together by a holy fellowship, traversed prairies and penetrated forests hunting congregations and places to preach. They know not when mounting their trusty horses in the early morn where their resting place would be at night. But confident that the "Lord will provide," they counted not their lives dear to them, and at their own charges they went forth weeping, sowing seed. *

The following careful statistics eloquently tell the results of the division:

"In 1836, one year from the completion of the organization of the General Society, there were in Missouri 8,723 Baptists, all told. Of these there were 5,367 Missionary Baptists, having 150 churches and 77 ministers: of anti-missionary Baptists there were 3,366 members, having 80 churches and 49 ministers. In 1846 the Missionary Bap-

* Yeaman: History of Missouri Baptist General Association, pp. 109, 110.

tists had grown to 15,331, having 292 churches and 144 ministers, and the anti-missionaries had 4,336 members, 118 churches and 57 ministers. In that decade the Missionary Baptists had increased in numbers 9,964. The anti-missionaries had increased 970. The reader will see that the percentage of increase for the Missionary Baptists is almost marvelously beyond that of the anti-missionaries for the ten years mentioned. It is almost useless to speak of the difference between the two wings of the denomination at this (1898) date. The Missionary Baptists have approximately 150,000 members, 1,000 preachers and 1,700 churches in the State, while the antis are not as numerous as they were in 1846. *

It may be added that in order to exist at all the antis in Missouri have had to modify their views. Many of them now favor Sabbath schools and protracted meetings, while they are all less pugnacious and more inclined to effort than their predecessors.

Most of the early Baptists in Louisiana came from Mississippi. The State itself was, of course, part of the famous Louisiana Purchase of 1803, although a part of it, known as West Florida, did not come definitely into possession of this country until the Treaty of 1819, which ceded to the United States, East and West Florida in consideration of $5,000,000 and the relinquishment on the part of the United States of all claims to Texas. This was a very foolish trade and one which cost a war and many millions of dollars to rectify. But that has nothing to do with our story now. Having once been in the possession of Spain, the Roman

* Yeaman's History of the Missouri Baptist General Association, p. 98.

Catholic influence, there has always been and is now quite strong. The Mississippi Society for Baptist Missions, Domestic and Foreign, organized in 1816, sent missionaries to Louisiana, where the number of preachers and churches multiplied as soon as they were freed from fear of Roman Catholic interference which was not, of course, until 1819, when the last claim of Spanish sovereignty was relinquished. But other troubles were to come. Dr. Paxton says:

> In 1830, and for some years after, the church began to be troubled with the leaven of Campbellism, and some with Parkerism or Two-Seedism. The distractions growing out of these questions fell like a blight upon the cause of religion. In 1833 it was reported to the Association the Natalbany Church had imbibed the Two-seed doctrine; and upon investigation it was found to be true, and the fellowship of the Association was withdrawn.*

In 1832 a society was organized auxiliary to the Home Mission Society of New York, called the Domestic Missionary Society of Louisiana. This does not seem to have accomplished any great results. In 1846 the Ouchita Association had passed a resolution requesting the churches to send up contributions to support a minister in destitute parts of the Association. This aroused the anti-missionary feeling and in 1847 at the session of the Association with Aimwell Church, Catahoula Parish, after only one year's trial, a resolution was passed declaring that in order to preserve peace and union among the

* Paxton's History of the Baptists of Louisiana, p. 40. Paxton is my chief authority for Baptist History in Louisiana.

churches, the request could not be complied with. But the missionary spirit would not down and the next year, 1848, when the Association met with the Hebron Church, Catahoula Parish, this resolution was introduced for the double purpose of allaying the opposition to missions, while at the same time those desiring to do missionary work or to contribute that it should be done might be allowed to do so.

It shall be the alienable right of each convocation of the Association, of each church composing her body, and every member of the same, to contribute for benevolent purposes, or withhold, according to their several views, and this right shall never be challenged in the Association. Any motion to the contrary shall be ruled out of order by the moderator as being unconstitutional.*

But this only settled the matter for two years; for in 1850, at Catahoula Church, Catahoula Parish, with 17 churches represented, the split took place.

The anti-missionary spirit which had been brewing culminated at this session. The Mount Pleasant Church asked for a letter of dismission, and after some objections and much debate the application was laid upon the table until next meeting, whereupon Elder T. Meredith announced to the Association in behalf of that church that she was no longer a member of Ouachita Association. A Committee was appointed to labor with the church and, if possible, bring about a reconciliation, but nothing was accomplished. Under the lead of Elder Thomas Meredith a Convention met at Pilgrim's Rest, an unassociated church, September 11, 1851, for the purpose of forming an association of the anti-missionary order. Ten churches met in convention: Hephzibah, Zion Hill, Mount Pleasant,

* Paxton, p. 285.

New Bethel, Pilgrim's Rest, Hopewell, d'Arbonne, New Providence, Mt. Olive and Bethel, of which only Zion Hill and Mt. Pleasant appear to have been from the Ouachita Association. The rest were no doubt of this order. *

Not a single minister followed Mr. Meredith from the Ouachita Association, although he was greatly beloved. He was joined by a few anti-missionary preachers, and the new association adopted articles of faith much similar to those of the Missionary Baptists, except their article on feet-washing and the usual article disclaiming connection with any missionary society or body. The usual progress for the missionaries and shrinkage for the anti-missionaries then commenced.

In Tennessee there was a decided reaction against missions. One quotation from Dr. Riley succinctly sums up the story.

It seems that Luther Rice, during his tours of the South had succeeded in arousing much zeal in missions among the churches of Tennessee. But about 1820 the current of sentiment changed and the reaction assumed a most malignant form. Indeed, so serious did the opposition become that it is said, "not a man ventured to open his mouth in favor of any benevolent enterprise or action." The result was that the work of organization effected by Rice went to pieces, a deplorably chaotic condition of the churches followed, the friends of the opposition rallied, and the cause of missions was for a long time paralyzed. The influence of this reaction spread into adjoining regions. Largely in consequence of this the churches of North Alabama almost without exception became anti-missionary. †

* Paxton's History of the Baptists of Louisiana, p. 286.

† Riley's History of the Baptists in the Southern States East of the Mississippi, pp. 171, 172.

As early as 1743 Baptist missionaries from Maryland penetrated into the northern part of Virginia. Some work was also done here by missionaries from the Philadelphia Association and she may be counted as a missionary State from that time until the present day. About 1823 Alexander Campbell became a disturber of the saints. His attacks against salaried ministers and organized missionary efforts have been fully treated heretofore. While he succeeded in urging some to the adoption of his views and in alienating and rendering fruitless yet others, such men as Taylor, Jeter, Witt and Semple stood like strong bulwarks against both his anti-missionary and his doctrinal heresies, so that the bulk of the denomination was kept in sympathy with the general work of the Baptists in the entire country. And the zeal aroused by Luther Rice was not allowed to die out.

Early among the States of the South, Maryland had constituted the Baltimore Baptist Association and the Baptists there had gone on record as a missionary body; but in 1836 the anti-missionary Baptists came into control of this Association and by a vote of 16 to 9, adopted the usual resolutions against "worldly societies" andthose who by joining with them had forfeited their fellowship. But this same year was formed the Maryland Baptist Union Association into which were gathered the missionary hosts and the denominational life, leaving the Baltimore Baptist Association but an empty shell, without real life or vitality.

Georgia effected organization under the able leadership of Jesse Mercer. The Powelton

Conferences developed into the missionary and educational organizations of Georgia: first, the General Committee, composed of members from each district association, which purposed to promote State Missions, itinerant preaching, and education of the Creek Indians, as the special objects of organization; second, the State Convention, and third, Mercer University. The mission fight in Georgia is epitomized in the fight in the Hephzibah Association.

In 1832, Elder J. H. T. Kilpatrick, a young man, and a stranger to the people, visited the Hephzibah Association for the first time. The Hephzibah is the second in age among the Associations in Georgia, and is the first born of your own venerable association. (The Georgia Baptist Association, organized 1784.) On the occasion above mentioned, the refined and portly Wm. T. Brantly, Sr., then pastor of the Augusta Baptist Church, was also present bearing a letter from the Foreign Mission Board When the letter was presented, a majority of the delegates voted against allowing it to be read to the body. A motion was then made that the letter be *thrown under the table*. The vote was taken by rising, and the motion prevailed. One delegate, whose weight was about two hundred pounds, gave emphasis to his vote by leaping clear of the floor more than once, and coming down on his feet with such violence as to jar the whole building. The man appointed to throw the letter under the table "*dashed*" it to the floor with as much vehemence and venom as if it had been a missive from the lower regions.' Just then, a certain brother, perhaps the same who had leaped from the floor, approached Dr. Brantley where he was sitting, and flourished a large knotted hickory stick above him in a threatening manner, frequently fetching it very near to his head, abused him severely for having sought to entice them into the missionary work, and warned him in extremely discourteous terms never to repeat the attempt.

From this day young Kilpatrick was resolved to reclaim the churches from their deplorable condition. At the next session he was present again, this time as a messenger from one of the churches. Year by year he strove, most in private interviews to impart more correct ideas to such as were willing to be enlightened, and spoke publicly wherever he deemed it prudent. At times the case seemed to grow worse. In 1825, in the absence of Kilpatrick, some of the churches petitioned the body to send a committee to he General Association (now the Baptist State Convention) to "view their order" and report conclusions. Not only was the petition refused, but the decorum was immediately amended so as to forbid the Association from ever corresponding with a missionary body in the future, or any messenger from ever making a motion to that effect. Still Kilpatrick refused to accept defeat or to desist from his purpose. In 1836, just fourteen years after this rude rejection of the letter from the Foreign Mission Board, he witnessed the passage of a resolution by the body to "become a component member of the Baptist Convention o the State of Georgia." To-day it stands among the foremost of our Associations for intelligence, liberality and devotion to all the benevolent enterprises of the denomination, with the eldest son of J. H. T. Kilpatrick, the successor of his father in the moderator's chair *

The members of the General Committee of Georgia injured their missionary plans by an attempt at denominational union which failed to meet the approbation of either the Baptists or the members of other denominations. But in spite of this, and of the spirit manifested in some of the associations, such as the one described, Georgia was always prevailingly missonary and stands in the front rank of the Bap-

* Address of Rev. A. B. Campbell, D. D., in the "Baptist Centennial Volume," pp. 145. 146.

tist States which have welcomed and defended the foreign mission movement.

In North Carolina an almost hopeless stupor prevailed until 1830, when the North Carolina State Convention was organized. The wisdom and zeal of Rev. Thomas Meredith, after a hard fight with the opposers of missions, made success possible. North Carolina is now third in numerical strength among the States of the Southern Baptist Convention. *

South Carolina, under Screven, Hart and Furmen, had anticipated Judson and Rice in their zeal for education and missions. Rice nowhere found a warmer reception than there.

In Mississippi the same difficulties prevailed, but to a smaller extent than in North Carolina and Tennessee. Her mission strength was mostly confined to the home field, although the Louisiana work had its foundation here.

Florida has itself been a mission field for some years after the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention. Texas has just emerged triumphant from her fight with the anti-missionaries, who claim the missionary name, and Arkansas has just achieved her first signal victory over them. As before stated, in the Northern and Northeastern States the anti-missionary spirit never made any real progress nor caused a denominational split.

SUMMARY.

The facts gleaned as to progress and spirit

* Riley: History of Baptists in Southern States East of Mississippi, p. 187.

of the opposition to missions have been necessarily somewhat confused in order, so that some tautology and periphrastic repetition has been inevitable, but they may be summarized as follows:

1. The opposition in every State is traceable directly or by inevitable inference to Parker and Campbell.

2. This opposition was led by men of small mental calibre but with sharp, acute and suspicious minds. As a rule, they lacked education themselves, and were violently opposed to those who had it. But while not educated in books, they had thoroughly understood that type of human nature which surrounded them and whose sympathies they desired to enlist for themselves or whose antipathies they wished to arouse against others.

3. The opposition to missions needed to be incited. The churches of America in 1812, while to a large extent non-missionary, were not by any means totally so, as was shown in Chapter I. But while many were non-missionary, none were anti-missionary. I have carefully investigated Dr. Spencer's claim that previous to 1816 there was not an anti-missionary Baptist Church in America, and I believe his claim to be correct. Luther Rice and others were always at first received with enthusiasm; not until the days of Taylor was there any opposition offered.

4. This opposition was incited and carried on by a skillful appeal to the prejudices, good and bad, of the uninformed people. The good

prejudices that were appealed to were: their love of the Bible as the sole rule of faith and practice; their love of the church as the divinely organized, providentially preserved, and inherently sufficient instrument of evangelization and pillar and support of the truth; and their love of religious liberty, which liberty they were led to believe was about to be taken away, by destroying the independence and sovereignty of the churches and merging them in a whole which would be equal to the sum of all its parts and greater than any one of them. We know and history has demonstrated that these fears were not well founded. Neither district associations, State conventions, nor General conventions presumed to set themselves up as extra-ecclesiastical authorities. They do not exercise an atom more of power over the churches of to-day than they did when first organized. Their decisions and their authority can be enforced over no church; not churches but individuals are their constituent parts. They are merely instruments of co-operation. If it be right to co-operate, it cannot be wrong to use some means of co-operation. When several persons combine their efforts and contributions to have a thing done at a a place where they cannot themselves go, it is necessary to employ an agent. If several individuals or corporations combine to employ a lawyer to do a piece of work, which all of them feel under obligations to have done, and which will benefit each of them, and which they can do most easily and cheaply by paying the law-

yer to undertake it, their employment of him does not make him their master but their servant. In engaging him they have lost neither independence nor sovereignty. Baptist Conventions or Associations are in no sense of the word ecclesiastical bodies. They do not claim the right to interpret or enforce the Scriptures. No appeal can be taken to them from any action of a local church. They can only control their own membership. They are co-operative organizations for the cheap and speedy transmission of the liberality of churches, missionary societies and individuals to worthy objects of benevolent effort, which the aforesaid churches and individuals may use or not, as seems good to them. But while all these things are true, and were urged at the time, the point is that the anti-mission leaders *made the people believe* that the conventions were synods or general councils, and that their appeals and suggestions were intended to have the force of papal bulls. Their agents were painted as tax-gatherers and their officers dubbed priests, bishops and popes. Thus by a distorted representation of the missionary work the fountains of liberality were dried up and opposition was encouraged to rear its snaky head and demand, "that they (the missionaries) ought to desist, and dispense with their temperance society—their Sunday school —their reading sermons, and with *their prayer meetings ! !*"

The *evil* prejudices that were appealed to were : (1) Sectional Animosity: missions were

denounced as a Yankee institution. (2) Class Hatred: the missionaries were represented as living in luxury and as anxious to secure the hard earned pittance of the poor to enable them to continue their extravagance. (3) Social Condition: the missionaries were painted as vain with learning acquired at college and seminary, despisers of the ignorant and endeavoring to outwit them so as to gain their money, and to organize them, as a means of obtaining official superiority and power over them. The anti-missionary leaders successfully urged all the arts of the demagogue to swing their forces into line. When did such arts ever fail of temporary success,or of final defeat? Certainly not here.

5. The *attack* always came from the *antis*. They forced the fighting and necessitated the division.

6. The Hardshells were, without exception intolerant, impatient of opposition and accusers of their brethren. The missionaries injured themselves and the cause by too long endeavoring to effect a compromise and to retain a union where no affinities existed.

7. The separation always marked the beginning of growth with the missionaries and the beginning of shrinkage and dwindling with the Hardshells.

8. The opposition was grafted on such widely differing doctrinal roots as Anti-nomianism, Arminianism and Manichænism. The Manichæans formed a party to themselves. The

Campbellites absorbed the Arminian element, and the Antinomian element a few years later became a sect which has received the expressive sobriquet of "Hardshell;" truly a most fitting and appropriate name, but one to which they are by no means exclusively entitled, and the word is properly used in these pages to designate all opponents of mission methods, whatever their views as to predestination and election.

9. The distinctive principles of the hyper-Calvinistic sect of missionary opposers, popularly known as Hardshells are as follows:

(1) That God is omnipotent, all-powerful and sovereign and would himself do all that was necessary to be done to save the elect.

(2) Any attempt on man's part to bring about the salvation of their fellow men is an infringement of the divine prerogative and an insult to the Almighty. In extreme cases they even refused to offer the invitations of the Gospel to sinners. *

---

* I have already explained Mr. Campbell's Arminianism in connection with this point. That Arminianism was the only reason the Hardshells do not bear his name. As a proof that some at first swallowed even his Arminianism for the sake of his opposition to "human institutions," I would point to the fact that a sect have recently separated from the Campbellites or Disciples, who revert to the strictest antinomianism and style themselves the elect They have a church here in Louisville. The sect founded by Mr. Campbell having adopted missionary methods, no reason remained for a longer affiliation with that body; hence the division.

(3) The church is the only institution of divine appointment, and all human organizations for doing good are evil necessarily and *per se*, whether they propose to take the place of the church or not.

(4) Churches may not co-operate to do their work, although they may associate to ask concerning each other's health.

(5) The world was evangelized during the first century and the Great Commission was then exhausted and has no present force as is proved by the cessation of miracles.

(6) An educated ministry is "an abomination unto the Lord."

(7) Theological seminaries, Sunday schools, mission and temperance societies are all devices of the Devil, intended so ensnare and corrupt the church.

(8) The Hardshells being always and only right, possess constitutional and disciplinary authority over their refractory brethren, the missionaries, and the minority can if necessary exclude the majority.

Such principles, especially when taken in connection with their methods of expounding and defending them, produced the inevitable separation. Most of the divisions occurred between the years 1826 and 1840. This separation was an unspeakable blessing to the missionary churches. The sooner these churches have another such expurgation of the Hardshells who have since that time grown up within their pale, the better it will be for the churches and for the world.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RELATION OF THE FOREIGN MISSION MOVEMENT TO EDUCATION.

The thesis I shall attempt to establish in this chapter is that the Foreign Mission movement is the parent of Baptist Christian education as it exists in our denomination to-day. Brown University is the sole exception to this statement; this was the only university owned by the Baptists in the United States at the time of the conversion of Judson and Rice. In fact, Judson obtained part of his education there. Brown University grew out of the great revival or awakening. It was the desire to found a college which should be under the chief direction of the Baptists and in which education might be promoted, and "superior learning obtained free from any sectarian tests." The treachery of Dr. Ezra Stiles, a Congregational minister, and of Mr. William Cellery, who had been intrusted with the preparation of the charter, came near throwing it into Congregational control. But the plan was exposed in time to prevent it; a new charter, giving the Baptists the control, was formed and Brown University was established just sixty-four years after Yale College, which was founded just sixty-four years after Harvard.

When Rice returned to this country he found ignorance to be the greatest foe to Missions; so he began to preach an educational crusade also. This stirred up both the friends and enemies of education and the educational question became the most fiercely contested issue in the fight. The body organized in Philadelphia, May 14th, 1814, and afterwards known as the Triennial Convention, was first designed only for the support of foreign missions. But the constitution was subsequently modified in several particulars. One of these was to aid in securing the "training of the young men for the gospel ministry." In other words, the Convention took up the founding and support of Columbian College. At the second meeting, in 1817, the Convention empowered the Board, "when funds of a sufficient amount should have been contributed for this purpose to institute a classical and theological seminary." In 1821 a charter was obtained from Congress, which really gave full university powers, although the name given was "The Columbian College in the District of Columbia." In 1825 the theological department thus established was transferred to Newton Theological Institute. After a few years Luther Rice made the educational feature prominent, and finally so pre-eminent as to take nearly all his time and attention. His interest in education was so well known, that in 1815 he was elected President of Transylvania university, Lexington, Ky., which honor he declined.*

* Second Annual Report of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions (1816). p. 67.

The state of public sentiment in the West in regard to ministerial education and the reasons therefore have been previously told. Those who opposed education at all never constituted the real body of the Baptist denomination, nor did they fairly represent its sentiments. At best, they occupied denominational outposts and when the mission cause finally made ministerial education an issue, the Baptists gave forth no uncertain sound. Our opponents have delighted to make the views of this fraction seem to be that of the whole denomination and we have not always defended ourselves wisely or well. Mr. Parker, who is an ideal exponent of the Hardshell view, thus caustically states his ideas as to the effect of education:—

Some may say that I stand opposed to education from the remarks that I have made; but I think education a great common blessing in its place. But when we worship the creature instead of the Creator, we sin and abuse the blessings bestowed upon us. So I oppose the principle of education being an essential qualification to the ministry. It is evident that education makes a man a more accomplished deceiver, and he is better enabled to practice fraud on the minds of the people, and it has ever been the case and ever will, unless governed by the power of divine grace: for it is evident that education has made manifest more bad men than it ever has good ones. So I think we had better leave it for God's work to call men of education when he wants such, than to undertake to make preachers by giving them education. It is true, where grace governs education, both meeting in one man, and that man is called by the effectual working of God's spirit, to the work of the ministry, he is better qualified to express or communicate his ideas. But he still labors under serious difficulties.

The pride of his heart calls on him to tickle the ear or please the fancy of the learned part of his congregation and to do that leave the ignorant part without information.

But this is like the spirit of the world, and like the old proverb "God help the rich, the poor can beg." Let the learned part of the world be pleased and informed more and more, but the ignorant stay where they are. So I say if the clergy must have education to understand the grammatical sense of word, so the hearers ought to have the same understanding, lest a fraud should be practiced on them, for through false zeal and the advantage of education, the whole of the delusion and false ways are imposed on the world of mankind, and have caused thousands of God's dear children to seal their testimony of Christ with their own blood, when persecution had prevailed under the prejudice of education. Then no wonder when we Baptists dread its appearance under the name of religion and draw the sword against it.

So I conclude that adopting such plans is aiming to make additions to God's word, and argues that the King of Zion was imperfect and did not know the best plans for qualifying, supporting and sending out preachers. I conceive the mission plan cast this contempt on the diginity of Christ, while they rob God of his glory and make merchandise of the gospel.*

That the statements concerning education made by its opposers were either misunderstandings, caricatures or wilful perversions will be evident by a perusal of this extract from an address of the Triennial Convention, at their second meeting in 1820:—

We are far from thinking that learning can make a minister of Christ; we are assured that unsanctified lit-

* A Public Address to the Baptist Society, etc., by Daniel Parker, pp. 30–32.

erature, as well as superior talents, elevated stations, riches, and worldly honors, may prove a great curse; and that it has been often abused to the vilest of purposes. It is still one of the excellent attainments of the Christian, he must add, to his faith and virtue, knowledge. It enters into the character of those able pastors, promised by God, to his church—they are to feed men with knowledge. Ministers, according to our sentiments, must be gracious men renewed and sanctified by the spirit of God; they must possess gifts from Christ for their office, and must be called of God to engage in it. But these gifts they may either neglect or improve, according to the itimation given in the exhortation of Paul to Timothy: "Neglect not the gift that is in thee;" "Give attention to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine;" "Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth;" "Meditate on these things—give thyself wholly to them, that thy profiting may appear to all." Here their duty as well as danger, is described. The word of God declares, that the pastor must not be a novice; that he must be apt to teach, and must speak in a manner easy to be understood—which no man can do, unless he is well acquainted with the subject on which he discourses.

It is evident that the Missionary Baptists recognized whatever truth there might be in the statements of their anti-brethren as to the dangers of education, but did not allow a prejudice thus engendered to close their eyes to its benefits. The Baptist General Association of Kentucky, at its organization, declared views similar to those just quoted from the address of the Triennial Convention.

There is nothing that more intimately pertains to the prosperity of the Baptists in Kentucky, than the establishment of a school or schools for the education of those of our young ministers who may desire it. That age

of folly is past,* which denied to a man because he was a preacher of the gospel, the right to improve his mind. There is neither Scripture nor common sense for saying that a man if he is called to preach, ought to go immediately to work, and use no endeavors and avail himself of no opportunity to obtain an education. There is nothing criminal in being learned—indeed, it is right and proper for every man, minister or laymen, but more especially the former, to cultivate and enlarge by every means in his power, those faculties with which he was endowed by his maker, to enlighten and benefit mankind. It cannot be wrong for a minister of Jesus to be taught to read the inspired language of the Scriptures—the language which the Holy Ghost used in revealing the glorious truths of the Bible, it cannot be criminal for any one to read, much less him whose peculiar business it is to expound and enforce it. †

The missionaries always repudiated, the charge made by their opponents that the *churches* were to *call* men to preach. They did feel the obligation to search out and aid those whom God had called to preach. The history of the attacks made on missions by Taylor, Parker and Campbell show how their favorite point of attack was education and especially theological education. This same attack was continued by their successors.

(1) In one of the circulars of the Pilgrim's Rest, Ala., Association, written by Rev. Henry Petty, we find the following:

We view theological schools unwarranted in the Word of God and dangerous to religious liberty. And wherever they have been organized, whether Jewish, pagan, heathen,

*The Kentucky General Association of Baptists was organized in 1837.

†Minutes of the General Association of Baptists in Kentucky, for 1837, page 15.

Roman Catholic, or Christian, they have been a source of persecution and bloodshed on the Church of Christ. *

(2) The following extract is from the constitution of the Ebenezer Association of Alabama:

We do not hold in union any church that retains in their fellowship members that belong to any of the following institutions, to wit: Theological Schools, State Convention, Missionary Society, Tract Society, Sunday School Union, Temperence Society, or any other society that is tributary to the missionary plan, as it now exists in the United States; neither will we knowingly correspond with, nor receive a correspondence from, any association, that continues churches in fellowship who are members, or whose members, belong to any of the above named societies.†

(3) In the debates in Alabama prior to the forming of the States Convention, Mr. William Crutcher, known as a New-Tester, thus choicely and chastely delivered himself:

Old Simeon was President of the College at Jerusalem, and Gamaliel his successor made it a theological school, and Paul who was brought up at his feet came out a polished persecutor....It seems to me to be enough to stop the mouth of the whole world, with regard to theological schools to make preachers, and it looks more like the bottomless pit spoken of in the Revelation to make locusts, than anything else; for a bottomless pit has no foundation in the Scriptures as an institution of God. I am told that a locust makes a track like a sheep's track only it is larger, etc. ‡

(4) Even when the value of education in other callings and professions was acknowledged, the Hardshells still demanded that it be with-

*Riley's History of the Baptists of Alabama, page 110.

†Riley: History of Alabama Baptists, p. 122.

‡Holcombe's History of the Baptists in Alabama, p. 90.

held from the ministry.* The Pilgrim's Rest Association, in a circular of 1838, observed that:

> Here, perhaps, an objection will arise which is, that by this way of arguing, all human learning seems to be utterly condemned. We answer, it follows not because it is not to be allowed in this way, that therefore it is not any use. We do believe it to be a useful thing in its right place, which is for statesmen, physicians, lawyers, and gentlemen, yea, for all men, who can attain to it as men.† ..above all other qualifications, that this world can give, but bring it once to be a help to understand the mind and will of God, in the Holy Scriptures, and in that respect it becomes detestable filth and dross. ‡

Not only did the opponents of missions always attack ministerial education but the friends of missions always defended it. The advocates of the one were the advocates of the other. The two interests were intimately and even vitally connected in the mind of both friends and foes. As we have given some references to show that this was true of the foes, so will we give some to show that it is likewise true of the friends of missions.

(1) The same Bowdenheim Association in Maine which had taken the lead in mission work took the lead also in founding a theological seminary.

(2) Colby University was the result of such a spirit.

(3) Note also two significant facts in regard to Newton Theological Seminary. First,

*Compare the quotation from Parker, on pages 131, 132 of this Thesis.

†Note the fine distinction between gentlemen and preachers, or even between men and preachers.

‡Holcombe's History of Alabama Baptists, p. 287.

Luther Rice was on the committee to take the subject into consideration. Second, the cost, $7,988, was contributed by thirty persons and one missionary society. This Seminary was opened October 28th, 1825.

(4) The various State Conventions, when organized, almost without exception, stated missions and education as two of the causes the organization was intended to promote. For example, when the General Association of Kentucky was organized, of the four objects named, the second is "to foster a more thorough education in the ministry and to encourage education among the people." And the fourth is "the support of foreign missions."

(5) Georgetown College in Kentucky was organized to secure a better educated ministry to resist Campbellism.

(6) Of Mercer University it has been eloquently said: "At first it encountered fierce opposition. Like a young Hercules, it had to grapple in its cradle the twin serpents Anti-mission and Anti-education, and throttle them."*

And so we might trace the rapidly increasing institutions of learning among the Baptists†

---

*Address on Mercer University by Rev. J. G. Ryals, D. D., published in Baptist Centennial Volume, p. 123.

†An article on Higher Education Among American Baptists by Prof. A. T. Robertson, D. D., contains a list of the State denominational colleges and the dates of their organizations up to 1845. The names of many established since that time are also given. The article was published in the Baptist Argus of January 24, 1901.

and we would find that they have been organized not only by missionary people but also for missionary reasons. One of the highest exemplifications of this fact is the missionary spirit of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. This spirit is not only the brightest jewel in her crown, but its lustre and radiance are beginning to attract the attention of the Christian world. Her "Missionary Day" and her missionary enthusiasm are everywhere causing comment and compelling imitation.

To sum up, then, the relation of missions to education in our denomination:

1. Missions caused its need to be felt.
2. The foreign missionary organizations brought the educational issue into being.
3. Missionaries advocated it.
4. Anti-missionaries opposed it.
5. The same organizations defended and propagated both missions and education.
6. They have ever thriven together and languished apart. Though they are now, for the sake of convenience, carried on by different Boards of the same body, yet the accurate historian must point his moralizing finger at foreign missions and say to ministerial education, "Son, behold thy mother!"

CHAPTER IX.

RELATION OF THE FOREIGN MISSION MOVEMENT TO ORGANIZATION.

The district association was already among us as an institution long before the foreign mission movement began. There is little need to describe it in those early days, since the changes have not been great. There were some who feared it contained the seeds of an hierarchy. History has shown how little this fear has been justified. Still to prevent the facts, it were well to have the fear. The nearest approach to a realization of the fear was in Kentucky, and even there it did not materialize.* That fear is not now entertained. It is to be regretted that the associational meetings have grown more formal, and that the churches have, to a large extent, ceased to submit to it for fraternal sympathy and advice vexed questions of doctrine and discipline. The prevalence of the denominational paper in the land is one cause of this.

*The appointment of Samuel Harris as an "Apostle" in Virginia was much prior to 1812.

The minutes and reports have also become more statistical and less hortatory and didactic, while the circular letter is now generally omitted. These things, and the fact that general denominational interests are given more time, while the individual churches are given less, constitute the chief changes.

The district association is not the result of a missionary movement, so much as of the desire of Christians belonging to different churches in the same denomination to get together for counsel, sympathy and advice in regard to the various questions of doctrine and discipline constantly arising. This feeling and need will be found to predominate in all the earlier associations. It caused the Philadelphia Association to publish its famous Confession of Faith. It caused the promulgation in the North of the New Hampshire Confession of Faith. It crops out in all the circular letters sent forth by the associations. The first letter of this kind devoted entirely to missions was the one sent out by the Charleston Association in 1814 on the strength of Rice's visit the preceding year. A German historian quoted by Dr. Geo. B. Eager in the "Baptist Argus" of January 24, 1901, says of American Baptists, that "their rapid growth is *contemporaneous and coterminous with the development of the* IDEA OF THE ASSOCIATION OF THEIR CHURCHES." It is the rather true that the growth and development of the churches caused the associational idea. It came in response to a felt need. When it came it of course furthered

growth, coming as at once a result and a cause, and, as was shown in Chapter I., was to a certain extent missionary. But, notwithstanding the missionary activity, and its results, of the Philadelphia Association, I maintain that the missionary idea was not fundamental nor primary. When the anti-missionary split came, some of the oldest and strongest associations unanimously went Hardshell, both North and South. (Cf. the action of the Chemung and other Northern Associations.) The Kehukee, a daughter of the Charleston and a granddaughter of the Philadelphia Association, and the Pilgrims' Rest Association are examples in the South. Had missions been the fundamental idea in their organization this would, of course, have been impossible. Not only did many of the old associations go anti-mission, but in Missouri and other States the first associations formed were formed by Hardshells. The Hardshells have district associations now, and have never made a fight against them, which fight they would surely have made if they had even suspected them of an inherent missionary taint. Nor are the Conventions, which *are* strictly missionary bodies, a development from the association; nor the General bodies a further evolution of the State Convention. The missionaries, indeed, took advantage of the fact that the associations were in existence and used them, and the incidental missionary activity which had developed in them, as far as possible. But when Luther Rice returned to America he found no instrument perfectly fitted

for the missionary work; hence, the necessity of organizing the Triennial Convention. But when that Convention was organized, the Associations lacked adaptability to do even the local work, and so State Conventions and local missionary societies came into being. This is not theory but history, and one of the triumphs of the foreign mission movement has been its success in making Baptist associations so thoroughly missionary, sometimes, and not altogether without loss, to the almost total exclusion of the original idea in their formation.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

(1) In 1802 the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society was organized at the First Baptist Church in Boston. This, in the course of time, led to the organization of the Massachusetts Baptist State Convention in 1825.*

(2) But South Carolina was the first to form a State Convention. An address was first sent out "to the different Baptist associations in the State of South Carolina." The reasons for it are a *neglect* on the part of the churches of a proper zeal in education and missions. The address also complains that "The plan of assisting pious young men in obtaining education for the ministry which used to belong exclusively to the Baptists, has been adopted by these (other) denominations," while among Baptists ignorant men insensible of the defects in themselves "are bold and confident of their knowledge

*Compare p. 16 of this Thesis for an account of the origin of this Society.

and abilities, and venture upon subjects to which they are unequal, in language which is not proper, and with reasoning which is not just." Not only that, but "entrance into the ministry is made so easy that every person with warm passions, apparent piety and a little fluency of speech can readily get encouragement to enter on the ministerial character and work." The address proposes that a general meeting of all the Baptist associations in the State be held to consider the two subjects of education of ministers and the sending the gospel to the destitute. "Each of these subjects embraces two important objects: the first of which respects the immediate assistance of pious young men designed for the gospel ministry, by giving them a knowledge of language and general science; the second, for the establishment of the theological seminary proposed by the General Convention.* For foreign missionary purposes, contributions are proposed—first, for sending the gospel to the heathen; secondly, to the destitute of our own country. The whole to be conducted in strict connection with the General Convention, in which we consider the interests of the Baptists in America, virtually and happily combined." This address was sent out in 1820, and was, as might have been expected, from the Charleston Association. Accordingly on December 4,

*This was Columbian College, but the influences thus set in motion finally resulted in the organization of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, first at Greenville, S. C., and now at Louisville, Ky.

1821, at Columbia, S. C., was held the meeting proposed. The organization was styled "The State Convention of the Baptist Denomination in South Carolina." Its objects were those suggested and specified by the circular address calling them together.*

(3) In 1822, under the influence of the Georgia and Ocmulgee Associations, and not without opposition, the "General Baptist Association of the State of Georgia" was formed "to confer together on subjects of general interest and plans of public utility; and to devise and recommend schemes for the revival of experimental and practical religion; for the promotion of uniformity in sentiment, practice and discipline; for the extension of the gospel by missions, by Bibles and tracts, and for the fulfilment of that Scriptural injunction, 'provoke one another to good works.'"†

(4) In New York in 1821 the work of various missionary societies resulted in a State Convention but not until the union of that body with the Hamilton Missionary Society was the State Convention formed on its present basis.‡

(5) The Connecticut State Covention was or-

---

*Cf. address of the Charleston Association and first copy of Convention minutes.

†Constitution of General Baptist Association of Georgia, quoted in History of Georgia Baptists compiled by "Christian Index."

‡Compare American Church Hist., Vol. II., Baptists, by Dr. Newman, p. 405, with Vedder's History of Baptists, in Middle States, p. 107; note and Dargan's Ecclesiology, p. 108.

ganized in 1823 with no opposition. The Virginia State Convention was organized the same year against a powerful and determined opposition. "Out of the twenty associations in the State, with a membership of about 40,000, only fifteen delegates representing a few of the associations were present at the meeting for organization."* This opposition was of course by the anti-missionaries.

(6) The Maine State Convention was organized in 1824; no real opposition.

(7) Vermont Convention organized in 1825 with comparative ease. The Alabama Convention was organized the same year. The vindictive animus of the opposition there has been already narrated.

The spirit of the first Baptist State Convention of Alabama proved to be essentially missionary. After the organization, by the election of Rev. Charles Crow as President and Rev. J. A. Ranaldson as Secretary, the body proceeded to business. It numbered about twenty members. Both in the constitution adopted, and in the address prepared to the Baptists of Alabama, the Convention was pronounced in favor of foreign and domestic missions, and of rendering aid to pious and intelligent young men called of God to preach the gospel.†

(8) The New Hampshire Convention was organized in 1826.

(9) Pennsylvania Convention held its first session in 1827.

(10) New Jersey and North Carolina were organized in 1830.

*Amer. Ch. Hist., Vol. II., Baptist, by Dr. Newman, p. 405.

†Riley's History of the Baptist of Alabama, p. 39.

No difficulty was experienced in New Jersey; but the tug-of-war came in North Carolina. Repeated efforts were made, only to result in failure. Finally a small fraction of the denomination effected a successful organization in 1830, which in the course of years has drawn to itself the bulk of the Baptists, both in brains and numbers, and the opposition has finally melted away.

(11) Tennessee, after similar experience, started her State Convention in 1832.

(12) In Kentucky, "the missionary societies that had so warmly and liberally supported foreign and domestic missions before the "Christian Baptist" "stopped" their operations, had been dissolved. The first thing to be done in the new interprise, therefore, was to form a constitution for a Convention.*

This was done by preaching missions, and in December, 1831, chiefly through the influence of Dr. Noel, who had been influenced by personal conversations with Luther Rice, the Kentucky Baptist State Convention was organized. It did good missionary work, mainly within its own limits for a few years, but gradually growing weaker, it perished. The cause of its decline was the theory of its episcopacy or "subordination" in the ministry. Its grandest work was that done by Dr. W. C. Buck, especially in regard to inducing churches to pay their pastors sufficient salary to relieve them from the stigma of being objects of charity, dependent upon the occasional donations of their members, or of being obliged to

*Spencer: History of Kentucky Baptists, Vol. I, p. 649.

neglect giving themselves up to prayer and the ministry of the spirit in order to put in their time on the farm or elsewhere to prevent their families from starving.* Dr. Buck did a great work. The chief marvel about it is that it has been so little known and appreciated. The missionary element among Kentucky Baptists were not cast down by the failure of the Convention. The same great men who had planned and worked for the State Convention, abandoned their errors, profited by their mistakes, and joined in with their brethren more recently aroused to the importance of a State organization. On Friday, October 20, 1837, a gathering, not large but great, met in the Baptist meeting house of Louisville, and after being called to order by Dr. W. C. Buck, organized the "General Association of Baptists in Kentucky" to promote concert and harmony among the churches; to preach the gospel to the destitute; to advance ministerial education, Bible distribution, Bible societies and the support of foreign missions.† The success of this organization broke the backbone of missionary opposition, and the fight for united effort was easier in the states that followed.

(13) Between the time of the first and second organization in Kentucky, Missouri Baptists had organized in 1834. Dr. Yeaman says of that body:

*A venerable minister of the Long Run Association told me that he could remember when Kentucky pastors hardly received $25.00 a year salary.

†Condensed from the minutes of the first meeting (1837).

Nothing can be more clearly and certainly attested than that the brethren who conceived the idea of a general organization of Missouri Baptists were possessed of a profound and abiding conviction that the gospel itself is a missionary enterprise.*

Article II. of the Constitution distinctly states that the object of the organization is missionary. Here, as in Alabama, Tennessee and Kentucky, the opposition was most bitter, prejudiced and determined, but happily proved unsuccessful. There has ever been in certain portions of the South and among certain classes, as the inevitable concomitant of ignorance, an opposition to all forms of missionary effort. Sometimes latent, sometimes very active, but always manifesting itself in the same ways, using the same methods of attack, striking at the same points, and using the same arguments. It was never very prominent in the North. Its greatest successes and defeats on its chosen battle fields have been fairly set forth, and it would make this chapter unsufferably tiresome to follow its maneuvers any further in the various State Conventions. No State in the South has been entirely free from it, but in no State has it ever gained a final victory.

Its end is necessarily destruction, and its destiny the blackness of darkness forever. At its funeral there will be no mourners and over its grave this Thesis will in all probability be

*Yeaman's History of Missouri Baptist General Association, p. 43.

the only monument. Should this record fail of reading or preservation, only scattered paragraphs in the glorious pages of American Baptist history will remain to intimate to the curious the erstwhile existence of that peculiar people who vainly attempted to clip the wings of the gospel and make it go the terrapin pace of the "Hardshell."

CHAPTER X.

THE RELATION OF MISSIONS TO HOME MISSIONS, BIBLE AND OTHER SOCIETIES, AND THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION.

The Home Mission work as now organized and representing the combined efforts of the entire denomination is not an indirect but a direct result of the Foreign Mission work. The brief synopsis given here of the events that led to making it an independent movement, is condensed from Burrage and others.

I. HOW THE HOME MISSION BOARD STARTED.

(1) John M. Peck was born at Litchfield, South Farms, Connecticut, Oct. 31, 1789.

(2) He became interested in mission work under the personal influence of Rev. Luther Rice. Rice in some of his reports to the Triennial Convention records having counselled with Peck on this subject.

(3) Peck received an appointment from the Triennial Convention in 1817.

(4) He reached St. Louis by means of a small one-horse wagon, carrying himself, his wife and three children, and organized a church there in 1818.

(5) He used this place as a center from which to carry on missionary work in the regions beyond.

(6) The Baptist Churches in the Mississippi Valley were largely antinomian, antimission, anti-Sunday-School, anti-Bible Society, etc.

(7) A severe struggle followed, in the course of which he greatly corrected these evils.

(8) But complaints from these sources caused the Triennial Convention to withdraw its aid in 1820.

(9) He continued his work under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society of Massachusetts, from 1822 on, at a salary of $5.00 a week,

(10) In 1826 he made a forcible presentation in the East of the needs of Western fields.

(11) In 1831 the Society sent Rev. Jonathan Going to join him. He was also much aided by James E. Welch.

(12) Peck and Going traveled together over the greater part of Illinois, Indiana, Missouri and Kentucky, and at Shelbyville agreed on the plan of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society.

(13) On receipt of their report the Massachusetts Society sent a committee to confer with the New York Baptist Missionary Convention, which was also doing work in the West, with the result,

(14) That the American Baptist Home Missionary Society was organized in New York in April, 1832, with headquarters at that place.

The quotations already so numerous abundantly show that not only were education and home missions soon incorporated among the objects of the Triennial Convention, but that even when because of their magnitude they were given in charge of separate boards, their interests always waxed and waned and their prosperity always rose and fell with the fortunes of foreign missions. The measure of the effort abroad has ever been the measure of the success at home. "There is that which scattereth and yet increaseth." To contract the field is to contract the blessing. Only the water that is constantly running outward toward the ocean can remain fresh and life-giving, while yet in its narrow channels. The Baptists of America take one dollar out of their purse and cast it across the ocean; and lo! they find forty dollars to spend on their denominational needs and interests at home.

II. BIBLE AND OTHER SOCIETIES.

It can surprise no one who has read thus far to be told that Bible Societies, Tract Societies, Temperance Societies, Publication Societies and Sunday Schools are also outgrowths of the foreign mission movement. We would know this by the company they keep and by the enemies they have made, if for no other reason. They are not only outgrowths of the foreign mission movement, but logical outgrowths. If you send missionaries, they must have Bibles and tracts. Who can publish them so well as ourselves? If we send missionaries

and whiskey barrels on the same vessels, where is our consistency? Even the United States Government knows and acts on the knowledge, that whisky is not good for Indians, Filipinos and soldiers; hence their recent regulations as to the "canteen" and the exportation of intoxicants to their colonies. The Baptists saw these inconsistencies long ago, and saw another inconsistency, viz: that of forbidding liquor to the heathen, while using it at home; hence the temperance societies. It also became manifest that the children as well as the ministers must be educated in the Bible; so the missionary wing of the denomination welcomed Sunday Schools. The other wing, of course, opposed them. In time, Boards for the management of the Sunday School work were especially created, but their interests are still intertwined with those of foreign missions. Many think that only the money given at home can bring any benefit to us, but history has shown that our richest blessings have come from the money and missionaries we have sent abroad.

The American and Foreign Bible Society was organized in 1837, for the purpose of circulating pure versions of the Bible in all languages. Its executive Board was located in New York City.

The American Baptist Publication and Sunday School Society was organized in 1840, for the purpose of publishing and circulating Baptist literature. Luther Rice and Dr. Staughton were among its founders.

III. THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION.

This mighty organization did not come into being because of slavery, but because of foreign missions. There was no bar to fellowship with Northern brethren, in the fact that the Southern members of the Triennial Convention were usually slaveholders. The slavery question was merely the *occasion* of the division. The *cause* was that the Southern brethren wanted to do their own foreign missionary work with their own men and by their own methods. The division was peaceable, and when the Southern body was formed it was called "The Southern Baptist Convention *for Foreign Missions*." Home missions, educational work and Sunday School Boards were subsequent developments, just as in the North. The steps in organizing the Southern Baptist Convention were these:

(1) In 1843, at Boston, a small association under the title of the American and Foreign Baptist Missionary Society was organized on anti-slavery principles.

(2) Publications soon began to appear in the religious periodical press which intimated that the acting Board of the Triennial Convention would no longer tolerate slavery.

(3) At a meeting of the Alabama State Convention in 1844, a publication of this kind, supposed to have been written by Dr. R. E. Pattison, then Home Secretary of the Boston Board, was read and what is now known as the "Alabama Resolutions" were passed. The second of these is:

Resolved, that our duty at this crisis requires us to demand from the proper authorities in all those bodies to whose funds we have contributed, or with whom we have in any way been connected, the distinct, explicit avowal that slaveholders are eligible, and entitled, equally with non-slaveholders, to all the privileges and immunities of their several unions; and especially to receive any agency, mission, or other appointment, which may run within the scope of their operations or duties.

(4) The Board of the Triennial Convention, among other things, said in their reply, "One thing is certain, we can never be a party to any arrangement which would imply approbation of slavery."

(5) This answer was condemned by the Board of the Foreign Missionary Society in Virginia, and the churches and associations of the Southern States were requested to send messengers to meet in Augusta, Georgia, in May, 1845.

(6) But in April, 1845, the American Baptist Missionary Society in session at Providence, R. I. passed resolutions setting forth the expediency of separate organizations at the South and North "in promoting the objects which were originally contemplated by the Society." It was advised that a committee be appointed and the separation be a peaceful and fraternal one.

(7) In response to the call of the Virginia Mission Society, there met in Agusta, Ga., May 8th, 1845, 310 delegates from the following States: Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky and the District of Columbia, and

other States were represented by letter. Thus was organized the Southern Baptist Convention. Boards of Foreign and Domestic Missions were appointed, located respectively in Richmond, Va., and Marion, Ala. Adoniram Judson's approval of this course on the part of the South was set forth in his address to the Southern Baptist Convention, an account of which is given on page 53 in Chapter II. of this Thesis.

After the organization of the Southern Baptist Convention, we do not purpose to follow the history further in detail. It would be of interest, to the author, at least, to write the history of the great newspaper wars against boards waged by such newspapers as the American Baptist Flag, The Texas Baptist and Herald and other papers of that ilk. The story would read strangely, like that in Virginia and Kentucky when Alexander Campbell and Daniel Parker wielded their caustic pens. Newspaper assaults were made on the mission work in Rhode Island, and even in Maine for a short while in the early days, but the brethren turned in disgust from those who pursued such methods of attack, and the papers died a natural and speedy death. The trouble seems to be that the retrenching and economy-urging brethren soon conclude that it is wrong to waste money on a denominational paper and so, unless the missionary brethren buy it to see what is being said about them, such a paper soon perishes from want of nourishment. Our Northern brethren have been too astute to sup-

port newspapers whose object was to destroy their work. The Southern brethren, unfortunately, have not always been so wise. But never again can the fight be so severe as it has been in the past. The archaic weapons of the anti-missionaries, deadly enough in their day, would provoke derision were it not for the malice with which they are still used. There has been and can be no improvement on them; as they were in the days of Parker and Campbell, so are they now, but every lessening of expense, every missionary exploit in foreign fields, every success of organization blunts their edge. The expense can never again be as great, nor the outcome of organization as problematical. The people can never again be made to conjure by the power of the imagination a Convention into a hierarchy or a missionary board into prelacy. One would almost smile to see the ancient weapons again unsheathed by the doughty champions of Hardshellism; but as one cannot smile when an American soldier is slain by the archaic bolo or bow and arrow of the naked Taglog, even though he knows how utterly futile they must finally be against the Krag-Jorgensen and the Maxim, so we cannot smile at the tottering and venerable arguments of the mission opponents, while they still deceive some of the uninformed and unwary, although we well know what the final result must be.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LIGHT SHED BY THE LESSONS OF THE PAST ON THE DUTIES OF THE PRESENT.

Behold the foreign missionary movement. In 1812 the American Baptist denomination was bound like Andromeda by the chains of antinomianism on the rock of prejudice, waiting for the Cretan monster of Ignorance to come and devour her. The foreign missionary movement was the Perseus that delivered her. I said the Baptist denomination: up to the time of Judson's conversion there was no Baptist denomination, merely scattered churches here and there connected only by heredity and by the feeble bonds of associational advice. There is a pamphlet in the Seminary Library; it is meant to be a record of the United Baptists, but by a curious transposition of the two middle letters in the first word, it says, instead: "The Untied Baptists." The American Baptists in 1812 were Untied Baptists; now they are United Baptists, and foreign missions has woven the silken cords of fraternal love that binds them together. We cast our seed, weeping, upon Asiatic soil far across the seas,

praying that it might bring forth a harvest for the Burman idolaters, dreaming of none for ourselves. But the seed grew, although the smallest of the seeds of the earth, and became a great tree that filled the whole world. Its wide-reaching branches stretched across the ocean, and sent down its branches until they took root in our own soil; but unlike the banyan tree, from its beneficent boughs the rich fruit hung in golden clusters ready to fall at our feet. It became to us a tree of life, and we plucked from it its twelve manner of fruits: Foreign Missions, Home Missions, Christian Education, Ministerial Education, Tract Societies, Bible Societies, Publication Societies, State Conventions, Temperance Societies, District Missions, Sunday Schools and the Southern Baptist Convention. Truly its fruit has been sweet and its leaves potent for the healing of the nations.

What light does this history shed on our present duty? We saw the issue; we saw the division; we heard the clash of swords; what is the result? So far when we look at the bloody battlefields we are constrained to say to the foreign mission movement, "No weapon that is formed against thee shall prosper." The division was even. One hundred thousand went each way. The Hardshells, or as they prefer to call themselves, "The Primitive Baptists," now number 126,000,* but with

*These figures are taken from The American Baptist Year-Book, 1900, which has just been received. The statistics relating to the Two-Seed Baptists are necessarily taken

fewer associations than at the time of the division. They have but few newspapers; few, if any, benevolent institutions; no cohesion; no future; no connection with the lost world. The Parkerites, or Two-Seed Baptists, according to the census of 1890, as given by H. K. Carroll, LL. D., had 50 associations, with 473 organizations, 397 church edifices and 12,851 communicants. They are most numerous in Texas, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi and Arkansas. Their Two-Seedism is practically all that distinguished them from the Primitive Baptists. Baptists of other kinds in the United States, such as Free-Will, German or Dunkard, Seventh-Day and Sixth-Principle, number 304,034 communicants. They are prevailingly missionary.*

The Regular Baptists of the United States have 4,181,686 communicants, 29,473 ministers, 43,427 churches. These are all missionary in name at least. They have 7 theological seminaries, which teach 1,012 students; they have 104 universities and colleges, with a total of 26,126 students, 1,239 of whom are preparing for the ministry. They have 84 academies, seminaries and institutes, with 10,882 pupils, 307 of whom are students for the ministry. There are 36 Baptist charitable institutions. There are 123 Baptist periodicals. Such marked growth where missions are held to and such notable stagnation where

---

from the census of 1890, inasmuch as the Government Census of 1900 did not include religious statistics.

*American Baptist Year-Book, 1900.

they are neglected or rejected cannot be misunderstood. We have nothing more to fear from the Hardshellism without; but we must educate, instruct and enlighten our people in regard to systematic giving, or it will grow within our missionary churches. Our members must be made missionary, and it is the duty of the pastors to educate them in systematic liberality. The great lesson we must learn is to guard the inside. Truth is not self-propagating; it must be carried. Truth crushed to earth will not rise again unless it be lifted. The gospel will not spread except it be preached, and men cannot preach except they be sent. Another lesson is that there can be no compromises with the anti-missionary spirit. It is as *dissimilar* from the spirit and commands of Christ as darkness from light. It has no inheritance in David and no part in the Son of Jesse. Yet another, and by no means the least lesson, is that the Baptists must do an independent mission work. Every reason that made it impossible for Rice and Judson to continue in the service of the Congregational Board makes it impossible for us to do our work by any other means than our own missionaries. We must declare the whole council of God. Every reason which made it necessary that at the cost of a fight for existence and the splitting of the denomination in twain we should establish our own societies, boards and conventions, makes it imperative that we should avail ourselves of them now that they are ready to our hand. We could not do without

them then; we cannot do without them now. They are the best in the world; by them we get greater results at less expense than we could by any other organization in the world. We do our work cheaper and with greater results in proportion to the labor and money expended than any other great denomination. They are big enough; their plans are broad enough; their prospects are bright enough to engage all our energies. They are fitted to us and we to them. They bind together those who are agreed. Why not say, Let us evangelize the world in this generation by means of our Baptist Boards and Mission Societies? We do not need to mingle the dialect of Ashdod with the language of Canaan. Let us not only *evangelize* the world in this generation, but wherever our missionaries go let them leave behind them churches, associations, conventions, schools, seminaries, Bible and publication societies and the other instruments for co-operative work. Let us not preach merely, but also *deliver* the gospel once for all delivered to the saints to faithful men who shall come after us that they in turn may deliver it to others. Let us not merely evangelize; that would be to sweep over the land like a prairie fire, and the ashes of our expired efforts would but fertilize the rapidly maturing crop of errors, heresies and idolatries that spring up with each succeeding generation. Let us not only burn but build and leave a self-perpetuating gospel behind us; then our work will need to be done but once.

Again, let us remember that missionary heroism may be and has been shown as truly in *sending* the gospel as in carrying the gospel. How I would like to call the honor roll of the faithful ones who have stayed at home and "held the ropes." Many of them have earned the martyrs' crown. God bless the unremembered men and women who have given and toiled and hoped and prayed. They have held the shield over the missionary in the foreign field and received in their own bodies the arrows of the archers. The antinomian scorned and said as Ryland* did to Carey: "When God almighty gets ready to convert the world, He can convert it without your help." The worldling sneered and said, as Sidney Smith, of Carey's plan: "It is but the dream of a dreamer who dreams that he is dreaming." But these forgotten heroes of faith said to the missionary, You go on; we will pay the expenses; we will hold the ropes. They waited a year—two years—five years—and not a conversion. They called to the missionary, "Watchman, what of the night?" He answers, It is dark, utterly dark; no interest; no conversion; no hope; and yet not dark, for we have God's Word. O faithful helper, do not turn loose the rope. I am in a pit, delving for immortal souls and at present it is dark; but the future—the future is as "bright as the promises of God." Only after seven years does the news come that

*Dr. Ryland was not really, or at least permanently, an Antinomian, although he gave utterance to this sentiment.

the first heathen has turned to the light. But that faithful watcher had not been discouraged. In fifteen years there is a little church in Burmah, a pin-point of light in illimitable darkness. The missionaries die and more missionaries are sent. Then the first fruits began to be gathered.

"The morning light is breaking,
The darkness disappears;
The sons of God are waking
To penitential tears,"

Over among the Karens a nation is born in a day and Pentecost is duplicated Then the faithful "hopers toward God," as the Psalmist so sweetly puts it, say: We will send missionaries to yet other fields. While we are reaping in India, we will sow in other lands. We will lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes and enlarge the place of our habitation. We are debtors both to Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian, wise and foolish, bond and free. We will send the gospel to papal as well as heathen fields: Mexico, South America, yes, and Italy, in the shadow of the Vatican. We are "ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also." We speak of a century of missions; we have not had it. For eighty years the faithful few have been trying to get Baptists to make the missionary experiment. We have routed the anti-missionaries; our problem now is to vitalize the Omissionaries, and their name is legion. If all the members of Missionary Baptist churches were Missionary Baptists, we could send the gospel to all the world

and have it preached to every creature inside of five years. This is not exaggeration, but sober fact; not Quixotic imagination, but "plain duty;" not an idle dream, but a "manifest destiny." Dr. Broadus says in his address on "Christianity Essentially Missionary":* "You remember how Archimedes said when he was finding out the wonderful power of the lever: 'Give me a place to stand on, and with a lever I will move the world.' Oh, men and women, foreign missions are the place to stand on for Christianity to do its work for the human race." Amen and amen. If we start the stream to the uttermost parts of the earth it will water, fertilize and fructify every other interest on its way. Baptists have the means. We have the men, we have the money, we have the organization; the doors are open; we have learned how ; the command of our Lord is urgent; let us go over then and possess the land, for there remains much land to be possessed.

(Some will say, Why don't you say something about somebody else besides the Baptists? One reason is, that I did not start out with that intention. They may even call me "not a a preacher but a propagandist," a partisan and not an unselfish lover of the gospel. Well, I am glad that Christ is preached, for whatever reason and by whomsoever will. I believe that half a gospel is better than no Bread of Life at all. I am willing for all other organizations and denominations to do their own work in their

*Centennary Missionary Addresses, p. 23.

own way, and in so far as they preach the Truth, wish them God-speed. But when the thoroughbred church of Jesus Christ has all the means at her command to carry a *whole* Gospel, why waste time in idle vaporings of affected sympathy for hybrid organizations that can carry at best but a mutilated message to the lost?)

We have come to understand that the missionary is not an isolated individual, and that even when he is in foreign lands he is "in arterial circulation with the churches." We cannot be indifferent to anything that concerns him. The connection should never be broken. A missionary is not only one who goes, but one who is sent. The churches at home must ever pray the Lord to send forth the laborers into the whitening harvest; must ever look to see on whose face shines the token that God has called him to go far hence to the Gentiles, must ever help him to equip himself for the struggle; must separate him to the work to which he is called; must support him and sympathize with him and rejoice with him. He does not live to himself alone, nor for the heathen alone, but for us and for Christ. "How can they go except they be sent?" It is ours to send them. We are the Philippians who must once and again minister to their necessity in order that after awhile we may receive the sweet message from our missionaries: "I am filled, having received from Epaphroditus the things which came from you, an odor of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God And my God shall supply every need of

yours according to his riches in glory in Christ Jesus. Now unto our God and Father be the glory for ever and ever. Amen. Salute every Saint in Christ Jesus. The brethren which are with me salute you. All the saints salute you, especially they that are of Cæsar's household. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." (Phil. 4: 18-23.)

Gateway Seminary Library

From the library of
W. Morgan Patterson
1925-2010

Gift of Ernestine North Patterson

S0-DGF-664